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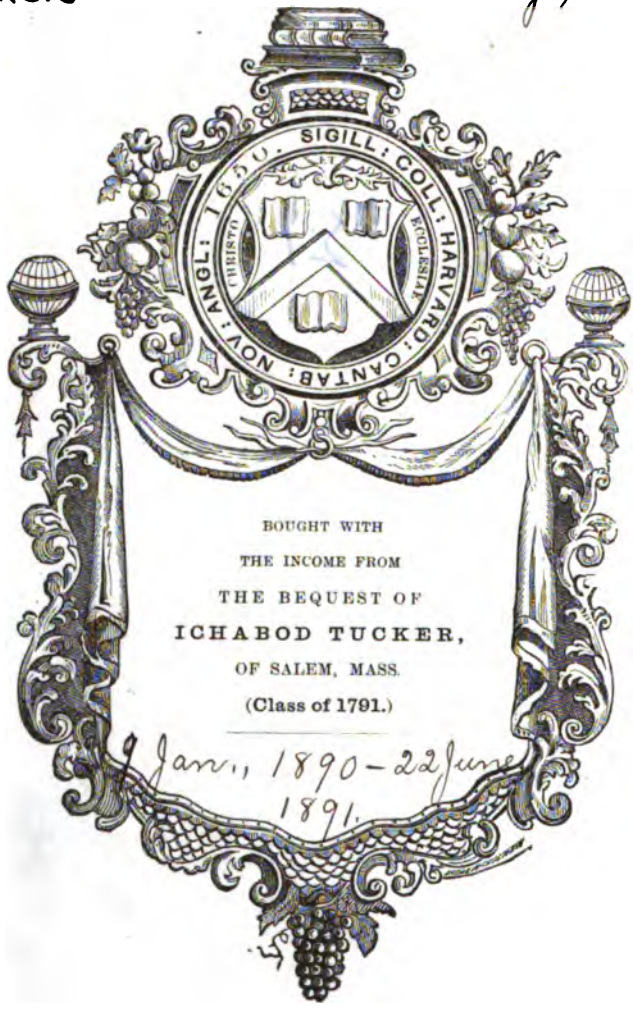

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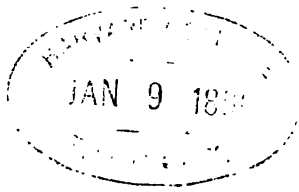

CANADIANA.

Rose-wreath and fleur-de-lys,
Shamrock and thistle be
Joined to the maple tree,
Now and for aye!"
—JOHN READE.

EDITOR:
W. J. WHITE, M.A.,
President Society for Historical Studies, Montreal.

[Entered according to Act of the Parliament of Canada, in the year eighteen hundred and ninety, by WILLIAM J. WHITE, at the Department of Agriculture.]

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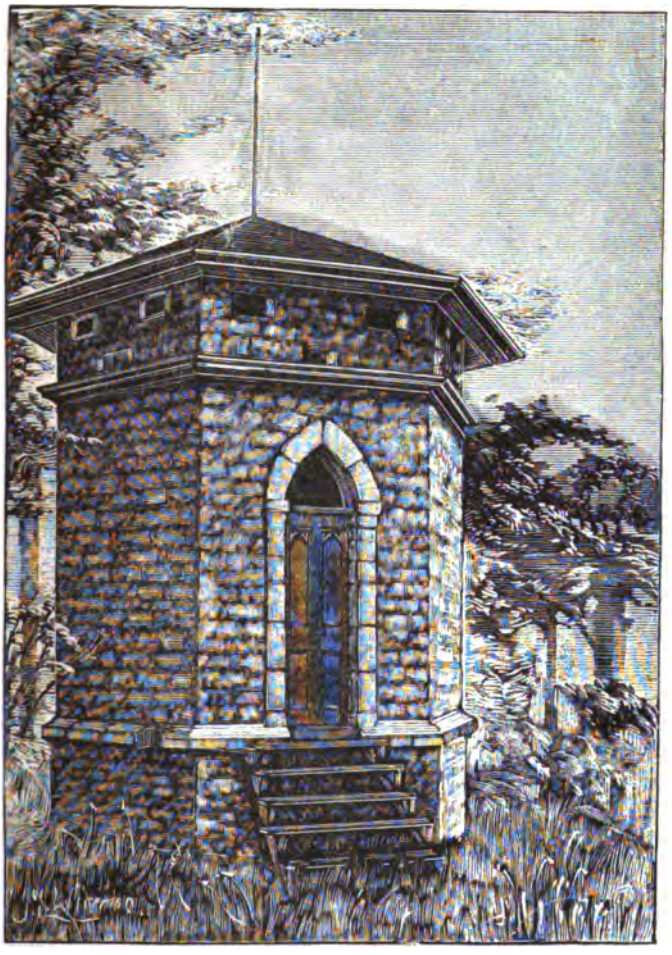

THE TRAFALGAR TOWER.

MAR 26 18

CANADIANA.

A COLLECTION OF CANADIAN NOTES.

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VOL. II. MARCH, 1890. No. 3.

THE LITERARY MOVEMENT IN CANADA UP TO 1841,

By Miss BLANCHE L. MACDONELL.

[Concluded.]

About 1830, or perhaps a little earlier, a fresh spring of life, the thrill of a new beginning, became perceptible in Canadian literature. The contagion of popular enthusiasm aroused a vigorous force of national life. The political events of the day gave birth to a strong, patriotic sentiment that before long clothed itself with burning words, rich with pathos and passion. The greater portion of the poetry of this era was written by those known as "the patriots of '37." These compositions were for the most part short, detached pieces, printed in the journals of the time. It is quite possible that for strangers, these songs would possess little interest. Many of them are imperfect in form and expression, and exhibit flaws in taste and finish, but the ardent national spirit which they breathe will keep them long alive in Canadian hearts. Among those whose work displays talent, grace and charm are F. X. Garneau, Bédard, Cherrier, Aubin, F. R. Angers, Petitclair, J. E. Turcotte, F. M. Derome, Barthe, Leblanc de Macounay and Pierre Laviolette.

Barthe's poems are very imperfect, thought is lost sight of in a deluge of words. Among the best are "A mon ami," "La Prière d'une jeune Fille" "Le Sommeil." Laviolette's descriptions of Canadian scenes exhibit sensibility and facility of expression. Aubin was a Parisian journalist who came to Canada in 1834. About 1837, he commenced the publication of the "Fantasque," a paper whose wit and originality were highly appreciated. During the political troubles, both editor and printer of the "Fantasque" were thrown into prison. Later, M. Aubin started the "Castor." The highest perfection of this writer's talent appears in his journalistic work, which always possesses a naive and original character. His bright wit, expressed in incisive, epigrammatic phrases, his French gaiety, lightness of touch and neatness of finish, quite sustain the reputation he enjoyed. His best poems are "Souvenirs," "A Jenny," "Quarante ans," "Les Français aux Canadiens," "Le Suisse Libre," "Le Juste Milieu."

William Fitz-Hawley is known by two volumes of verse. "Quebec, the Harp and other poems" which gained a prize offered by the Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Sciences of Quebec, and "The Unknown, or Lays of the Forest" which contains a really beautiful description of the River St. Maurice. Miss Vining's name also belongs to Canadian literature, though most of her writings appeared in American journals. Her verses are tender, soothing, plaintive, though they can scarcely be said to soar above the common-place. The best are "Under the Snow," "The Earth's Complaint" and "Canada." Isidore Bédard's promising career was cut short by an early death. Notwithstanding carelessness and negligence of style, this young poet excelled any of his contemporaries in deep feeling and genuine fervor of sentiment. His quick, impulsive ardor vitalizes every sentence. His poem "Sol Canadien" has earned a well merited reputation as one of our best known Canadian national songs.

Decidedly the best representative of this epoch is F. X. Garneau, so well known through his History of Canada. M. Garneau devoted himself with ardor to the study of his race, its language, literature and history. His style is full of fire, in sympathetic harmony with the character of his work. Many of his poems are warm with the heat and glow of enthusiasm, and possessing that spiritual power which is the inevitable result of conviction, ring out like the sound of a clarion. "Le Père du Soldat" is an historical poem of some merit. "Les Oiseaux Blancs" and "Louise" are charming in form and sentiment. "Les Exilés," "Au Canada," "Pourquoi Désespérer," will live long in the hearts of Canadians. "Le Dernier Huron" has been esteemed by some critics the finest poem ever written by a Canadian. A little later, appeared Joseph Lenoir, who was born at St. Henri, in 1824, and who possessed the genuine gift of song. Though lacking in vigor and energy of expression, this poet displays much grace, sweetness and harmony. His word painting of Canadian scenes and customs is very charming. "Le génie du foret," "Le Roi des Aulnes," "Le Chant de Mort d'un Huron," have the true poetic ring.

The first two-volumed novel issued from the Canadian press was published at Kingston, 1824. It was entitled "St. Ursula's Convent, or the Nun of Canada, containing scenes from real life." The writer was Miss Julia Beekwith, afterwards Mrs. Hart, of Frederickton, a relative of the Abbé Ferland, the distinguished author of "Cours d'Histoire du Canada." It was followed some time later by a second, called "Tonnawanda, or the Adopted Son of America." Having been unable to obtain copies of these works, I am not in a position to offer any opinion upon their literary merits. I am also ignorant of what reception may have been accorded them by the public.

As the spirit of a higher intelligence began to make itself felt amidst the mere striving after a physical existence, a number of persons appear who, though they have left no

permanent contributions to the literature of their country, have yet done much for its advancement. Amongst these we may name F. X. Perrault, an earnest pioneer of education in the Province of Quebec, whose "History of Canada" is simply an elementary work compiled to meet the necessities of public instruction; also Messrs. Faribault and Viger, archeologist antiquarians, whose historical researches have proved of inestimable service to our later historians. In this connection we may notice that the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, founded in 1824, became an important factor in the development of Canadian literature. This Society exhibited the most praiseworthy zeal in encouraging the cultivation of literary and scientific tastes and pursuits, historical research and the publication of the annals of the country.

History is a branch of literature for which the Canadians seem to possess especial aptitude. The man who had the most influence on the spirit in which the story of events in Canada after the Conquest has been written, is Pierre du Calvet. This Frenchman was a Huguenot, and formerly a magistrate of Montreal. His liberality of sentiment had caused him to be suspected of intrigues with the Americans, to whom he had furnished supplies during their occupation of Montreal, and with whom it appears he had kept up a correspondence. He was arrested at his own house, Sept. 27th, 1780, by a party of soldiers who took possession of his money and papers, and brought him to Quebec, where at first he was kept on a vessel in the harbor, then cast into the military prison, and finally lodged in the Recollet Convent. Du Calvet insisted that he should be brought to trial, influential friends offered themselves as guarantees of his loyalty, but all the demands of this strenuous and determined advocate of his own rights, were refused. After two years and a half of captivity he was set at liberty, without being told the crime of which he was accused. Du Calvet appears to have

been a man of vigorous mind, penetrating observation and varied experience, and of a fiery, head-strong temperament. As soon as he escaped from his Quebec prison, he sailed for London to demand justice from the King. He requested the recall of General Haldimand that he might be able to accuse his persecutor before the English court. At first the authorities gave him evasive answers, and afterwards completely ignored his claims. Du Calvet, in 1784, published a volume of letters called "Appel à la justice de l'état ou Recueuil de Lettres au Roi, au Prince de Galles et aux Ministres avec une lettre à Messieurs les Canadiens.' This work circulated freely in England and Canada, gaining a number of partizans for the cause of constitutional liberty in the latter country. The book might have more order and method, the style might be more correct, the expressions more choice, but the Canadian cause could not be pleaded with more earnestness and conviction. The letters are full of fearless strength and vivacity of passion. With a proud independence of spirit, indicative of mental force and moral courage, the author identifies his own cause with that of Canada and the force of personal complaint imparting warmth to a public grievance, boldly asserted truths which at that moment other men would scarcely have dared to whisper. In transports of a rude and fiery eloquence he cries "Qu'il est triste d'être vaincu. "If it cost only the blood that waters the field of battle, the wound would be very deep, very painful, it would bleed many years, but time would heal it. But to be condemned forever to be crushed by the hand of a conqueror, to remain eternally the slave of the freest people upon earth, that is too much. Might it be that our cowardice in disputing the victory, by degrading us in the eyes of our conquerors, has merited their rage and contempt. It was the divisions of our generals that caused them to be beaten, but for us, we revenged ourselves the next year, 28th April, 1760, we wiped out the shame of their defeat on another battle

field." He then describes the tyranny under which Canada groaned, the persecutions of which he was the object, the corruption of the judges who, during his imprisonment, had caused him to lose the greater portion of his fortune, in open violation of justice, of ordinary means of defence, and in allowing him to be intimidated by the presence of the Governor, who, contrary to ordinary usage, took his seat on the Bench when the case was being tried and which was lost by Haldimand's vote. Having declared that a great number of his compatriots were oppressed in the same manner, he draws a glowing picture of the vices of the Government, the despotism of the Governors, the servility of officials, the embezzlements of which they were guilty to gratify those in power or to serve their own friends, the continued violations of the Act of '74, and ends by demanding the establishment of a constitutional Government. This work has now become very rare. It is so evidently written under the empire of passion that it can scarcely be relied upon as an authority, and though all the Canadian historians quote it, none of them appear to trust implicitly to du Calvet's statements.*

Since Charlevoix, more than a hundred years had passed, and Canada had had no real historian. Dr. Jacques Labrie first made an attempt to supply this want. The Legislature allowed £500 for the publication of his volume, but unfortunately the author died before it was printed, and during the political troubles of 1837, the M.S. was destroyed at the burning of St. Benoit. William Smith was the first English writer on Canadian history. Mr. Smith was Registrar and Master in Chancery, and later became a member of the Executive Council. His book was published at Quebec in 1815, and is called "History of Canada from its first discovery to the peace, and from the establishment of the

* For a full account of this "traitor" and "compleat rascal," vide Report on Canadian Archives, 1888, p. xv. et seq: Ed.

Civil Government in 1764, to the establishment of the Constitution in 1791."

Joseph Bouchette, Surveyor-General of Canada, enjoyed a European reputation. The Legislature of Lower Canada gave 500 guineas towards the publication of his well-known work, "Description topographique de la Province du Bas Canada avec des remarques sur le Haut Canada et sur les relations des deux Provinces avec les Etats Unis de l'Amérique, enrichies de plusieurs vues, plans de ponts, de batailles, etc." The book was published in 1815, and an extension of the work in English appeared in 1831. Michel Bibault's "Histoire du Canada sous la domination Française," was published in Montreal 1837. The style is dry and stilted, and the author has been accused of failing in correctness of detail. In 1834, "Hawkins' Picture of Quebec with historical recollections" made its appearance. This is an excellent book of reference, as it contains an exact description of the siege of Quebec, and also one of the attack on Quebec by Arnold and Montgomery in 1775. A number of English writers have also written upon Canadian affairs, among them—Robert Montgomery Martin, Hugh Murray, M. H. Bliss, Robert Gourlay, Cath. Smith, Bartlett, Heriot, Richardson.

In reviewing the progress of Canadian literature as far as 1841, we may fairly conclude that very great advance was made in knowledge and intelligence; we can congratulate ourselves upon the reality of grasped achievement, on the creation of an educational influence that has moulded the character of our national literature. We must remember that this work has been almost entirely undertaken in brief intervals of leisure, by busy men, whose best energies were absorbed by the practical necessities of life. Though no writer rose to the heights of genius, though Canada gave birth to no poet of commanding inspiration, the literary work that appeared was good of its kind, it furnished an excellent foundation for what was to follow. Walt

Whitman says: "The profoundest service that poems or any other writings can do for their reader is not merely to satisfy the intellect, or supply something polished or interesting, or even to depict great persons, or passions or events, but to fill him with vigorous and clear manliness and religiousness, and give him a good heart as a radical possession and habit." In this sense, this early Canadian literature seems to have accomplished its aim. It also possessess the merit of being natural and original. The national lyre vibrates spontaneously, and in many instances, the vigor of its expression, the nobility of its utterance, is not unworthy of a country boasting a splendid exuberance of life, and looking forward to a glorious future replete with illimitable possibility.

THE TRAFALGAR TOWER.

At page 16 of this number, an enquiry appears as to the history of Trafalgar Mount Monument. So great has been the interest excited by this enquiry, and the discussion to which it has given rise, that the following account of this tower may be acceptable to the readers of "Canadiana."

The story which has attracted attention to this tower appears in "Le Répertoire National ou Recuil de Litterature Canadienne," compiled and published by J. Huston, a member of "L'Institut Canadien de Montréal," in 1848, and is to be found at page 263 of Volume I. The date ascribed to it there is 1835, and as the book is somewhat rare, we venture to give the following synopsis.

The story is by George de Boucherville and a foot note gives the information that he was formerly a member of the Bar of Montreal, and in 1848 was practising at the Aylmer Bar. He writes in the first person singular, and begins by describing the location of the Tower as follows:—

Have you ever gone as far as the "Priest's Fort" on the

Mountain ? Have you sometimes struck into the sombre thicket which borders on the southwest the hill leading to Cote des Neiges ? And if you have been ever so little curious in examining the picturesque landscape, the valleys which are spread out fresh and blooming before your eyes, the rocks which here and there frown threateningly above your head ; you must have noticed the grey spot which appears in the distance, on the left, upon the green background of one side of the mountain. Well, that spot which in the distance appears like a small point, is a little tower, gothic in style, which recalls dark and sinister recollections to those who are aware of the horrible deed of which this was the scene.

He then proceeds to tell how one fine morning in June many years before, he took his gun, and followed by his dog, went out in the direction of the " Priest's Fort " intending to return the same evening to his home. It was noon before he arrived at the " Red Cross," memento of the story of the villanous Belisle. In the afternoon he goes on towards the mountain, and having good sport, does not notice the change which has taken place in the sky. Heavy clouds are gathering rapidly ; birds are flying about in haste seeking shelter from the approaching storm. The wind rises, and soon the thunder and lightning announce the commencement of the storm. The first drops of rain recall the hunter to the realization of his situation, and he finds that he is alone on the mountain, and he is obliged at first to take shelter in a hollow tree, expecting that the storm will soon pass over. The storm continues however, and he is driven from this dangerous retreat, and then it is, that he discovers the little tower, into which he rushes expecting to find a more secure shelter from the storm. Upon examination, however, it does not prove to be much better than that which he had left. The rain entered on all sides through the broken windows, the flooring was falling to pieces, and he was afraid that the opening under

it, which yawned dark and threatening at his feet, might be the home of some venemous reptile. He then describes the fury of the storm, and how at last, overcome by fatigue and hunger, he lies down with his gun beside him and his dog near by to warn him of any hostile approach.

He had only been sleeping a few miuutes when he felt something cold pass over his face, something like a hand which glided over his body— he trembled, and a thrill of horror passed through all his limbs, his hair stood upright and he felt as though he were choking, having neither courage to raise himself, nor strength to seize his gun. He then proceeds to say that although he did not believe ghosts he would not dare confess what thoughts passed through his mind at that moment. Was it some spirit from another world which had appeared to frighten him? He did not believe it. Was it a hand in reality, a man's hand that had touched him? That might be. Was it a reptile that had glided over his body? That might also be? Was it the effect of his excited and weakened imagination? Even that might be. In any case, it is certain he says that he never experienced so depressing a sensation in his life. The storm had continued, one flash followed another without interruption, and the woods around him seemed like one vast furnace of fire. His eyes dazzled by the lightening, were suddedly struck by the sight of blood which was splashed upon the walls; he also saw some drops upon the panels of the door. At this the most frightful and incoherent ideas had possession of him. Could a person have been murdered there, in this spot at which he was alone in the middle of the night? Might it even be the assassin whose hand had passed over him a few minutes before in the hope of taking his gun away and thus depriving him of his own defence? But his dog was still there beside him sleeping quietly, and if it had been anyone who had come near him, the dog would certainly have warned him of their approach. While he is thus disturbed by a thousand conjectures, the

clouds commence to break, the storm is less violent, and the lightening flashes more rare, while the thunder is heard further and further away, like a lion retiring from a scene of carnage when he has spent his fury, rather because he meets with no resistance, than because he is obliged to give way to one who is stronger than himself.

In the next chapter he describes how he went from the fatal tower, and in the darkness before dawn wandered on the mountain seeking some more hospitable shelter. He wanders thus until morning, and finds himself at the back of the mountain where he discovers a hut. Hastening towards it with joy, he is disappointed when he sees a man whose savage aspect, tall figure and broad shoulders repell him, and who tells him with some sharpness that he has nothing for him, and that his house cannot serve as a shelter for anyone, no matter whom. The stranger is sitting on the trunk of a tree, sharpening on a large stone an axe which appears to have been stained with blood. As the wanderer approaches, he hides this axe with a curious gesture of discontent, under a branch which is at his feet In pleading with the stranger, he tells him that he has passed the night on the mountain, and describes his adventures in the tower, and then the hermit, attracted apparently by his frank demeanour, exacts from him a promise of secrecy and produces an old manuscript from which he reads him the story of the crime which was committed at the tower. This story forms Chapter 4, and is entitled "Jealousy."

It was the fourth of March, just nineteen months after the death of her father and mother, when Leocadie the heroine of the story is introduced kneeling in the church at confession. The hour is past six, and the services of the church had long been finished. At this moment a handsome young man of about twenty-five enters, as was his habit, not only to offer a prayer, but also to enjoy the scene which was indeed imposing, of an immense edifice slowly

darkening with the gathering gloom. The lamp burns motionless in the middle of the chancel, and its dull light is reflected on the altar. The surrounding are so very beautiful as to have the effect of plunging the young man into deep meditation, in which dreams of love with its brilliant illusions were not absent. His attention is presently attracted by a moving object at the other end of the church, and as he advances he sees Leocadie on her knees before the chancel. She wears a dress of some light material, and her graceful figure is adorned with rose colored ribbon. The writer then indulges in raposodies upon her beauty. Suffice it to say that she is seventeen and attractive, and that the young man of twenty-five falls a victim to her charms. He learns that she is living with her aunt on the Cote des Neiges, and obtaining an introduction, he becomes a daily visitor at the house.

For three months he is unremitting in his attention and Leocadie has not the courage to tell him that her heart is given to another. Finally she commissions her aunt to make this painful avowal to the young man, and he is furious; swears to be avenged, and in the final interview which he requests, he bids Leocadie look at the sun and see how red it is. "It is red" he says "like fire, like blood, yea, like blood which must flow." And then in a dramatic style he leaves her hastily.

Chapter 5 is headed "Vengeance," and it also is highly dramatic. The accepted lover has returned, and the happy couple are shortly to be united in the bonds of holy wedlock. One fine Sunday after mass, the lovers walk together on the mountain. The account of their emotions would, I fear, be spoiled by a translation. They reach the Tower, and Joseph the accepted lover proposes that they should go in. As they set their feet upon the threshold of the door, a red cloud passes across the sun, and the shadow of death strikes the face of Joseph. Seeing this, Leocadie trembles and a tear drops from her eye. Joseph wipes it away

smiling: and leaning over the lovely maid he kisses her. At the same moment, as if the kiss had been a signal which the wretch was waiting for, he throws himself like a thunder bolt upon his two victims. Leocadie has recognized the stranger. A knife gleams in his hand. She recalls the blood red sun, screams, turns pale and falls unconcious and lifeless at the feet of the assassin, who has stabbed her to the heart. Joseph springs upon him. He is unarmed, but he wishes to avenge Leocadie, or else to die with her whom he loves more than his life. There is a violent struggle, and the stranger lifts up Joseph with his strong arms and throws him to the ground beneath him. One knee upon his chest, he seizes him by the throat. The unhappy man makes vain efforts to free himself from the iron grip which is strangling him. His eyes roll convulsively in their sockets, his nerves stretch and all his limbs twist frightfully; the assassin does not lose his hold until the death rattle is heard, and then he knows that his vengance has been satisfied!

The concluding chapter is short, and is entitled "The Locket." It is as follows: Having finished the story, he folded with care the half torn leaves and returned them to a box from which he took out a kind of small locket. "See" he said, "this is Leocadie's hair. She wore this on her neck, and what you see on the other side is in the hand writing of Joseph."

The following acrostic appeared beneath the miniature of Leocadie:

L'e Dieu qu'à cythère on adore
E'n tes yeux fixa son séjour;
O'rnés de cils, mouillés encore,
C'est là que repose l'amour.
A'h! qui peut égaler les charmes
D'e ces yeux qu'amour embellit,
P'ris devant eux rend les armes
E't va se cacher de dépit.

—"Well," said he quite calmly and in a solemn voice, "you have heard the story: remember your promise!"

* * * * *

"Je m'éloignai rapidement de cet individu."

This, then, is the story of Trafalgar Tower. An addition to the romance in later years is that the murderer still prowls about the tower—in the spirit state, of course—and that his footsteps may be heard coming towards the scene of the murder. Indeed, in this year of grace 1890, a worthy citizen of Montreal, who had been reading up the Tower, made a pilgrimage to it one fine Sabbath morning, accompanied by his wife and little boy. As he stood upon the coping, looking through the gothic window, and examining the interior he distinctly heard the footsteps of some one approaching. His wife also heard the footsteps and advised him to come down, to avoid getting into trouble for trespassing but he continued his investigations until he judged from the sound that the feet usually associated with footsteps should be immediately behind him. Then he turned to examine the new comer, and was amazed to find not only no new comer, but no feet and not even a vestige of a foot print, although the light footfall left a trace upon the snow!

That these footsteps are an authentic part of the tradition appears from the following extract from a letter written by Mr. John William Molson of this city to Mr David Denne: Speaking of the Tower he says it "was used as a summer-house and look out for visitors; where my mother, Mrs. Molson, of Belmont Hill, in her young days, used to spend many happy hours. She also distinctly remembers the sound you mention . . . and the late Mr. Furniss repeatedly mentioned them but could not explain the cause, although unquestionably there must be one—others also heard them there. My mother attributes it to the volcanic and certain peculiar formation of the rocks, which, she thinks, cause a peculiar echo there and give forth sounds created at a distance, making them appear as if caused by some one on the

spot." Perhaps some geological friend will comment upon this theory. It is apparently agreed on all sides that the Tower was built to commemorate the victory of Trafalgar and as this took place 21st October, 1805, we need not search the title beyond this. In 1805, the property upon which the Tower stands belonged to John Ogilvy.

In 1836, it was purchased by Mr. Furniss and subsequently passed into the estate of Mr. Miles Williams, to which estate it now belongs. The Tower was built by Mr. Gillespie and as first constructed, had a crenulated top, upon which was placed a small cannon which awoke the echoes as each 21st of October dawned. It was soon found, however, that the snow which collected in this top did great damage to the roof and walls, through which it leaped in the spring, and when Mr. Furniss restored the Tower he covered it as shewn in the cut.

I have also been favoured with an extract from a letter written by Mr. Albert Furniss to Mr. J. W. Skelton of this city, in which he says: " When Mr. Albert H. Furniss was a very young boy, say in about 1846, he was shown two empty graves or holes situated about 150 feet below the site of the Tower, and was told by a local *raconteur* that they were the graves in which two murdered lovers had been buried."

A much more likely theory is that those two holes were test pits, dug to ascertain whether the ground was suitable for a cemetery, as in the very year which Mr. Furniss mentions (1846) a company was proposed and issued the following prospectus:

TRAFALGAR MOUNT CEMETERY.

To be incorporated by Act of Parliament.

Honorary Directors:

Jacob DeWitt, Esq., M.P.P.,
John Young, Esq.,
William Lyman, Esq.,
Francis Badgley, Esq., M.D.,
Thomas Mussen, Esq.,
William Workman, Esq.,
Henry Mount, Esq., M.D.,
William Rodden, Esq.,
J. B. Torry, Esq.
L. H. Holton, Esq.,
W. N. Crawford, Esq., N.P.

Solicitor :
Andrew Robertson, Esq.
Bankers :
The Provident and Savings Bank.
Superintendent :
Frederick B. Matthews.

The advantages of the modern practice of burial on the outskirts of cities in Europe and the United States have become so obvious, and with regard to Montreal so imperatively necessary, that it has finally been determined to establish a CEMETERY, upon the site of the Trafalgar Mount property adjoining, externally, the municipal boundary, to bear the very characteristic title of

THE TRAFALGAR MOUNT CEMETERY,

which will at present comprise a portion of SIXTEEN ACRES, or thereabouts, of the said property, to be enlarged as occasion may require.

The GROUNDS contain two very neatly constructed and commodious DWELLINGS, one of which is to be converted into a CHAPEL, until another more appropriate edifice can be built, for the performance of the burial service, and contiguous is a VAULT, for the temporary reception of the corpse, should the inclemency of the weather or other unpropitious circumstance preclude immediate interment.

The other dwelling is now occupied by the Superintendent, who, as well as the Gardener, will be in constant attendance, to ensure order and decorum, to ornament and preserve the grounds from violation, and to afford to the visitor every opportunity of promenading, or of selecting places of burial so disposed and intersected by serpentine walks, as to be approached without profanely treading upon circumjacent graves.

The extreme natural beauty of the situation, the vast, picturesque and diversified views it affords, the present advanced artificial improvement of the grounds, with

clumps of trees and plants, beds of flowers, natural terraces, and winding path to the TRAFALGAR TOWER peering from the summit of the MOUNT clothed with luxuriant arbors—contribute to render this spot peculiarly adapted to the purposes of a CEMETERY, the existence of which will at once be a source of attraction, usefulness and celebrity to the Metropolis of Canada.

An office has been opened in the City, for the transaction of all business concerning the CEMETERY, at which tickets of admission may be had gratis, hearses, omnibuses and cabs will be provided, which will enable parties so inclined, to limit the funeral cortege to executors and near relations of the deceased as customary in other cities.

The tariff of rates which will be upon an economical scale, for burial lots, excavation, hearse, and other contingencies, may be ascertained either at the office or at the cemetery; and for the convenience of the public, the entire arrangements for interment may be effected by an order without further trouble to the applicant.

The Minute Book, containing copy of the articles of the Proprietary Association of the Cemetery, and minutes of all proceedings connected therewith, will remain in charge of the Superintendent, for the information of intending purchasers of burial lots.

Office: No. 19½ Great St. James Street.

MONTREAL, 22nd June, 1846.

From the foregoing data, the reader can select the true story of Trafalgar Tower.

THE LACHINE CANAL OF THE FRENCH REGIME.

By Mr. Robert C. Douglas, Ottawa.

Amid the famous men of Canada there stands forth in bold relief the tall and powerful figure of Dollier de Casson, whilom the brave dragoon, and now a priest and superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice at Montreal.

This ecclesiastic, was like many others of the same order, who, being men of the world, were not wholly absorbed in their priestly duties and the care of souls, but in addition, devoted themselves to furthering the material benefit and welfare of the settlement on the Island of Montreal.

The settlers at Lachine had great difficulty in transporting their produce to Montreal on account of the dangerous rapids of "Sault St. Louis." Many batteaux and canoes, as well as the lives of those in charge, had been lost in descending these rapids.

M. Dollier de Casson, familiar with the canals of old France, then being constructed or in contemplation, conceival the project of constructing a canal from Lachine to Montreal. Upon it the intention was, to build a number of mills of all kinds; water-power being necessary on account of the lack at times of wind to propel the mills already constructed; from which cause the inhabitants of Montreal and surrounding country had frequently to eat whole grain boiled.

Reasons adduced for assistance from France, were that in some years it cost the King over 200 pistoles through loss in this, as it was called "une rapide impraticable, ou du moins très-dangereux"; also the King paid yearly 200 *écues* for cartage which would be avoided if batteaux were loaded at Montreal.

In October, 1700, M. Dollier de Casson made an agreement with Sieur Catalogne, at that time, lieutenant of Marine and Royal Surveyor, to excavate a canal from the

Grand, or St. Lawrence River, to the River St. Pierre. The cut would be some 800 toises in length, 12 feet (French) wide at the surface of ground, the greatest depth of cutting mentioned is 9 feet. The gentlemen of the Seminary were to allow the use of any tools in their possession, especially those suitable for rock excavation. In the event of Catalogne's death during the time of construction, his wife could complete the work. The contract price for the work was 3,000 livres and it had to be completed in June, 1701.

This contract, the first canal contract in Canada,—when the magnitude of the present canal system and this humble endeavour, as viewed from to-day, are compared,—possesses great interest. The preamble may be quoted—

30th October, 1700.—"Marché pour le canal de la Rivière St. Pierre entre Mr. Dollier et Sr. Catalogne.

"Furent présent Messire François Dollier de Casson, un des prêtres du Seminaire de St. Sulpice de Paris, Supérieure des ecclésiastiques de Ville-Marie,

"Et Sieur Gédéon de Catalogne, officier dans les troupes du detachement de la Marine et Arpenteur Royal."

The name of the notary executing this document was Adhemar.

Catalogne did not complete the canal at the date specified, the death of M. Dollier de Casson, in October, 1701, stopped the work.

Catalogne, in his memoirs says, having made the plans and superintended the works, the sudden death of M. Dollier de Casson cost him 3,000 *écues.*

With reference to this statement, the Seminary noted "c'est Catalogne qui parle, mais il ne dit pas la vérité."

After the death of M. Dollier de Casson, another Sulpician priest interested himself in the canal. M. de Breslay was a gentleman of the King's Chamber; disgusted with the world and the gay life of the court of Versailles, he sold his commission and devoted himself and his fortune to the Indian missions of New France. He was appointed curate

to the priest of Lachine in 1702. The importance of completing the work would come directly to his notice. He directed the attention of Vaudreuil and Beauharnois to the project. In their memoirs to the minister, 15th November, 1703, the canal is thus referred to :—" M. de Breslay's project of building a canal to Montreal would be of great utility to the Colony if constructed as commenced, and we beg of you to assist him in completing the work."

M. de Broslay agreed to contribute 3,000 francs towards the completion of the enterprise. Having expended his fortune in building a chapel and fort near St. Anne, through the straightened circumstances of his family, he was unable to fulfil his agreement ; he requested that he be discharged from it, which was done, the Seminary knowing his poverty.

The King's attention was drawn to the project, he asked for the plans and estimates, upon examination of which he said he could not undertake the work, on account of war he was engaged in, and that the work should be postponed until the time of peace, unless means could be devised to carry on the work without his assistance.

In 1717, the enterprising gentlemen of the Seminary again attempted to complete the canal. After expending 20,000 francs, the work was abandoned on account of the large amount of rock that required to be excavated. This was the last endeavour made to connect the waters of the River St. Lawrence with those of Lake St. Pierre.

The King was closing his long reign in disaster and gloom, leaving France in financial ruin and disorder. From nearly the inception of the canal to his death, a profitless and costly war prevented any assistance being granted towards completing the work. The Seminary, after two efforts, finding that, unassisted the construction of the canal would prove of too great a strain upon its finances, finally relinquished the work.

The Lachine Canal of the French *Règime* was an unfinished cut through which no craft has ever passed.

While standing near the entrance of the canal at Lachine, and looking on the massive masonry structures, and other works, impressive in their magnitude, we must not despise the insignificent cut to the north, a memento of the public spirit and enterprise of the gentlemen of the Seminary in its early days. The imagination carries us backward two centuries, where near by could be seen the valiant and large hearted Dollier de Casson and his engineer and contractor Catalogne discussing the method of attaining an end accomplished on so grand a scale by the works which we have just viewed.

From 1717 until the conquest, the project is from time to time commented upon by governors and intendants and engineers. In 1732, MM. Beauharnois and Hocquart advise the Minister to continue the work, and request that the engineer of the Colony be authorized to study the project. In their memoirs, 28th September, 1733, it is said that the study of the work showed great difficulties. M. de Lery, chief engineer, having surveyed the canal, made several plans and memoirs, he says, in this year, that, upon examination of the projected canal, a consideration of the enormous expense its execution would necessitate, induces him to give up the project.

In 1749, we find one M. de la Morandier proposing to M. Galissonière an elaborate plan for the completion of the work. (Plan in Library of Parliament).

A cutting was to be made from the St. Lawrence into the River St. Pierre, this river and Lake St. Pierre would then be used to the foot of the lake, where a mill had been built called "Moulin du Lac." This mill would be situated about where the Grand Trunk Railway crosses the present canal. The flood water of Lake St. Pierre was discharged into the River St. Lawrence by the brook St. Pierre. From this brook, at nearly opposite to the water-works pumping-station, a small canal had been excavated by the gentlemen of the Seminary, to convey water to the "Moulin du

Séminaire," situated near the south-east corner of the old College grounds. It is presumed from the letters upon the plan, that it was intended to have this canal enlarged for the purpose of navigation. It was the original design of the Seminary to build mills at the various falls in the canal, these two mills and the small canal were probably part of this design. The canal between the River St. Lawrence and the River St. Pierre would, as well as being used for navigation, supply water to Lake St. Pierre during dry weather when there would be a limited supply for the mill at its foot. The documents available do not show whether the differences in levels, for navigation purposes, were to be overcome by locks or otherwise.

I am indebted to the Rev. P. Rousseau, S.S.S., Montreal, for a copy of the agreement between Dollier de Casson and Catalogne, for the extract referring to the canal from the memoirs of Catalogne,(1) also other information. This reverend gentleman kindly filled up the missing links in the history of the canal other than was to be found in the copies of documents and plans in Library of Parliament, Ottawa.

[Mr. Douglas has very kindly made a copy of a map dated at Quebec, 4th October, 1733, signed Chaussegros de Levy, and inscribed "Carte d'une partie de l'Isle de Montréal depuis la pointe à Cardinal jusqu'au courant de Ste. Marie avec la ville de Montréal, le canal commencé par les Messieurs du Séminaire est depuis A jusqu'à B qu'ils ont abandonné n'ayant peu la profondir à cause du Roc. J'ai marqué le Profil en travers du Canal proposé." I regret that this map cannot be reproduced in this number.—Ed.]

(1) Mémoire du Sieur de Catalogne, ingénieur, sur les plans des habitations des gouvernements de Québec, de Montréal et des Trois-Rivières (à Vaudreuil et Begin, 7me novembre 1712). Parkman states this memoire is 70 pages in length and in the "Archives de la Marine."

REMINISCENCES OF COL. CLAUS.

By Mr. Ernest Cruikshank.

IV.

The restlessness and impatience of restraint, which are such marked characteristics of all Indian tribes, soon found expression again, and under date of the 21st of July, there is a record of a council at the cross-roads held evidently for the purpose of allaying growing discontent.

On this occasion, Claus opened the proceedings by saying:

"Brothers,—I congratulate you that you have been in sight of the enemy and have not met with any serious loss, and that only some of your people have been slightly hurt.

"Brothers,—When so many people of different languages and nations are assembled, many bad stories are abroad. I assure you that if any news or anything worth telling occurs, I will you. If you are uneasy you should let me know. Desiré of the La Cloche band has reported that it was their wish to turn their faces towards home. I thank you for your patience. When I came down with you, I did expect that we would have struck at Niagara before this, but something or other has turned up to prevent it. It cannot be many days before something must take place. The ships were to sail yesterday, and when they appear we shall know the day when we shall advance. I shall send a runner to-day to our people at the Grand River and shall add your words to mine."

Desiré then complained that his band had neither knives nor vermilion, and explained that the change of climate had caused some sickness, and that it was this and not fear of the enemy that made them think of returning to their homes.

On hearing this, the Fisher, first chief of the Ottawas, bluntly observed: "If they are sick how can they go home? They had better stay and await the event of the battle."

Yellowhead and two chiefs of the Chippewas were of the same opinion.

Another La Cloche, chief, then rose and said : " We live in the interior and do not live like other Indians. We live by hunting and must take care of our families. We wish you to give us a paper to get food along the road and to get our canoes across the carrying-place."

A third chief of the same band, however, stated shortly afterwards that since they were assured that the British fleet was out and that something would be done in a few days, he and his friends would remain.

All the other Indians seemed to have consented to this arrangement, for Claus replied : " Brothers,—I thank you, and will tell your father you still hold him by the hand. The liquor you ask for, you shall get, but I hope you will take it very cautiously when so near the enemy."

At that date, the investing force occupied the line of the Four-Mile Creek, with its left resting on the lake, while the right touched the river just above Field's point. The field-artillery commanded the lake road, where it crossed the creek, having a strong picket half a mile in advance, and was supported by several companies of the 104th. The first battalion of the 8th or King's regiment and a detachment of the 100th were encamped on their right. The Indians were in the centre, and the Glengarry light infantry and several companies of the Royal Scots held a position in front of St. David's and Queenston, next the river, with strong pickets pushed well forward on the two main roads leading to Niagara. Another road winding along the left bank of the creek furnished easy means of communication from one end of their line to another, and slight field works had been thrown up for the defence of the bridges over the the stream, which had almost dried up. The movements of any considerable body of the enemy could be closely watched from the summit of the heights. The main body of the American army still remained in their fortified camp near Fort George, but their outlying pickets, six in number, consisting of about fifty men each, established on the farther

side of the Two-Mile Creek, at the houses of Crooks, Secord, John Butler, Thomas Butler, McClellan, and Fields, were in plain view of the British advanced posts.

Very early in July, it had been determined to await the return of Sir James Yeo's squadron, before making any attempt to force the enemy's position, while on the other hand, General Boyd was likewise restrained by positive orders from the Secretary of War to risk no forward movement until Commodore Chauncey had regained control of the lake.

Notwithstanding the pledges given by them at the Conference near Queenston on the 5th of July, already referred to, many of the Six Nations residing in the United States had been induced to "take the hatchet," and a body of Senecas had been actually engaged against the British at Black Rock within a week after. This fact naturally created great excitement among the Canadian Indians, by whom it was denounced as a distinct breach of faith, although at the same time they displayed an evident reluctance to fight against them. The activity of the Indian department was seriously obstructed by other causes. It was contrary to the customs of some of the tribes to attack an enemy after sunset. The chiefs of the western nations were already quarrelling over the distribution of the annual allowance of presents, which had not yet arrived. To crown all, the mutual antipathy long subsisting between Claus and Norton had increased until they would scarcely speak to each other and as the Mohawk chief was generally regarded as a brave and skilful leader of his people in the field, his complaints could not be ignored, and the influence of the superintendent was gradually undermined.

But four days elapsed before another council was held, at which besides Colonel Claus, Major Givins, Captain Lorimier, Lieutenants Ferguson, Le Clair, and Lorimier were present. On this occasion, it became apparent that the Indians from

Lower Canada had become uneasy, and they finally gave notice of their determination to return to their homes in these terms :

" BROTHERS,—The Seven Nations of Canada salute you. We have remained here some time, and no time is mentioned when anything is likely to take place. Our young men are going and only the old people remain. At first we were told only four or five days and we would see the fight. We have waited patiently ; a month has passed, and it has not yet taken place. It is said that it is the fleet you are waiting for, and now that it is out, it cannot be long before it must, come and as we wish to see the end of this, we now tell you that we will wait ten days, and after that you will not think it hard if we return to do something for our families, and as the Six Nations have sent for their young men, we think that surely before the ten days are out they must be down and our small number will not be missed."

To this speech Claus replied :—

" BROTHERS,—I thank you. The general wishes me to speak to you on behalf of the poor people about us who have complained that they lose everything about their places and he requests that you will exert yourselves to prevent these acts of cruelty. It is very hard upon these poor people, for on the one hand they are injured by the enemy, and on the other by us."

A chief said :—" The provisions are not enough and the young men go on the hunt for something to eat. Your people take the poor people's things and our men are blamed."

The superintendent assured them that their wants should be supplied, and a chief known as The Echo replied : I hope our brothers from the West will listen and desist. We understand our father desires that no more liquor than the usual allowance should be given us. It is right. We see the injury it does.

" We are wrong and confess our faults. It seemed as if these men wished to side with the strongest. We have taken

many things, but any that are pointed out, we will give up."

Instead of Yeo's squadron, an American fleet of fifteen sail appeared and anchored in the mouth of the river. Small detachments of troops had been seen to arrive at their camp almost daily during the last two weeks, and it was reasonably conjectured that their army was still nearly as numerous as when it first landed, notwithstanding serious losses by battle, desertion, and disease.

Information received from an escaped prisoner induced General Boyd to project an attack upon the British magazines at Burlington Bay, but his design was suspected almost as soon as it was formed, and on the day succeeding the arrival of the fleet, Colonel Harvey addressed this note to Claus:

"HEADQUARTERS, July 28th, 1813.
"2 p.m.

"DEAR SIR,—There being reason to suspect that the enemy is directing his views against Burlington Bay, I request that you will not lose a moment in sending off to Grand River to collect all the Indians there to assist in its defence, for which, however, we have already a considerable regular garrison. Collect them immediately at Bazeley's."

The performance of this service was entrusted to Capt. W. J. Kerr, and his sudden appearance with a small party of Indians, on the evening of the following day, upon the flank of the detachment which had already been landed for the assault of the British position, hastened its re-embarkation without having accomplished anything.

Notes.

ANECDOTE OF REBELLION OF '37-8.—The following is a title item which may be of interest in connection with the events at St. Charles and St. Denis:—My grandfather, the late Douw K. Lighthall, the registrar of the Old County of Beauharnois, and living at Huntingdon, had among his

friends the Major Ward who afterwards died in the Sweeney duel. Major Ward came frequently to Huntingdon, which though a very small place, was, from the superior class of its inhabitants, a sort of centre for the District, on business connected with the establishment of a troop who remained there in garrison for some years. On one of these occasions during the Rebellion, he took my father, then a little boy, upon his knee and amused him by showing some dark stains on his sword and telling him that those were the blood of a rebel. His story was that at the recent fighting on the Richelieu, he found himself at one place alone with his orderly among a growing crowd of French-Canadians. He ordered them to disperse. Most of them seemed disposed to do so. One large man, however, refused, and made such violent menaces that imminent danger of a conflict and a riot arose, and, the man advancing upon Ward in a threatening manner, he was obliged, for these reasons, to run him through. The crowd, of course, fled, but when Major Ward, who was a powerful man, attempted to withdraw his sword from the body, he found all his strength ineffective to pull it out. It was only with the aid of his orderly, and by laying the dead man on the ground, that he finally did so.

W. D. LIGHTHALL.

CHATEAUGUAY LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Constitution and By-Laws. Society organized 26th October, 1888, Ormstown, P.Q. Officers for 1888-89. President, Lt.-Col. Archibald McEachern, C. M. G.; Vice-Presidents, J. E. Robidoux, Q.C., M.P.P., Edward Holton, M.P., Thomas Baird, Esq.; Recording Secretary, Peter McLaren, B.A., M.D.; Corresponding Secretary, Wm. Patterson, M.A.; Treasurer, Wm. McDougall, Esq. Councillors, Dr. McCormick, Wm. J. Bryson, Esq., Dugald Thomson, Esq., Dr. Hall, Rev. D. W. Morison, B.A.

Publications Received.

KINGSTON AND THE LOYALISTS OF 1783. By Walter Bates. With Appendix.—The Diary of Sarah Frost. Edited with notes by Rev. W. O. Raymond, A.B., Rector St. Mary's Church, Saint John, N.B. Barnes & Co., Printers, 84 Prince William St., St. John, N.B., 1889. I am indebted to Mr. Jonas Howe, the Secretary of the N.B. Hist. Soc. for a copy of this interesting pamphlet.

ANNUAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF PARLIAMENT, in alphabetical and subject order, containing all books and pamphlets added to the library from January 10th, 1889, to January 10th, 1890. Printed by authority. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1890. The report of the Joint-Librarians which appears with this supplement calls special attention to the following additions to the American and Canadian Section:—"Vie de la Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, par Charlevoix, Paris, 1735. Grönland's Historiske Mindesmoerker, 3 vols. Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, from the beginning in 1791 up to date; in all, 24 vols. (This collection contains a most valuable record of papers relating to the early history of the United States and Canada.) Leonard's Report (in manuscript, which has never appeared in print) on Nova Scotia, addressed to Lord Sheffield in 1789. A collection of the Missions des Oblats, in which are found many documents on the settlement of the Red River district and the North-West. We may also mention several works on Pre-Columbian discovery of America; and twelve letters written by the Hon. L. J. Papineau to Robert Christie, the historian; they refer to the last years of M. Papineau's political life." Amongst the other important additions to the Library is the donation of H. I. H. Prince Roland Bonaparte comprising valuable scientific works.

MURRAY'S ILLUSTRATED GUIDE to Montreal and Vicinity. N. Murray, publisher, 1889. This is a neat little publication containing a new map of Montreal, description of places of interest, cab tariff, postal rates, U.S. Customs baggage inspection regulations, omnibus time table, &c. This is the third edition of this useful handbook.

THE CANADIAN CHURCH MAGAZINE; and Missionary News, published by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada. March, 1890. An illustrated Church magazine published at Hamilton, Ont. The editor and

manager is Rev. Chas. H. Mockridge, M.A., D.D., Windsor, N.S., and Rev. J. C. Cox, B.A., St. Lambert, P.Q., is the Business Agent.

THE CANADA EDUCATIONAL MONTHLY and School Magazine. Edited by Archibald MacMurchy, M.A., Tor. Univ. Toronto: The Canada Educational Monthly Publishing Company, Limited. The leading article in the March number, on the "Canadian Treaty-Indians," by the Hon. J. A. Boyd, Chancellor of Ontario, will be read with interest by all students of our history.

OLD NEW YORK, a journal relating to the History and Antiquities of New York City. W. W. Pasko, Editor, 16 Park Place. Vol. ii. No. 2. March, 1890. A seventy page quarto publication, containing a variety of interesting matter.

MR. CYRUS K. REMINGTON, of No. 11 E. Seneca St., Buffalo, N.Y. sends a copy of the Buffalo *Sunday Express*, 26th January, 1890, which contains an exhaustive article upon La Salle, and the building of the Griffon, 1679. The Buffalo Historical Society has decided to erect a monument to the memory of the great discoverer, and this article, which is illustrated, has been published to excite popular interest in the movement. If we cannot have a monument at Lachine, a Canadian contribution to the Buffalo monument would be a graceful compliment.

I was shewn recently a curious copy of Charlevoix voyages, in English, published in Dublin and printed by John Exshaw and James Potts, in Dame Street, 1766. It contains the maps and plates, and is in octavo. This copy is incomplete and was found in a garret by Mr. J. St. George Dillon, at his aunt's house, Thomastown Park, Co. Roscommon, Ireland, in 1888.

THE LATE SIR FRANCIS TURVILLE.

THE ELGIN PERIOD. THE LATE HON. MRS. ROBERT BRUCE.

INTERESTING REMINISCENCES.—These are two monographs by Mufti (Mr. Henry J. Morgan, Ottawa), reprinted from the Ottawa *Citizen* of 9th January and 12th February last, respectively. We trust they will be followed by other similar articles.

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VOL. II. MAY, 1890. No. 5.

CANADIANA.

"Rose-wreath and fleur-de-lys,
Shamrock and thistle be
Joined to the maple tree,
Now and for aye!"

—JOHN READE.

EDITORS:
W. J. WHITE, M.A.,
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PUBLISHED MONTHLY.

VOL. II. AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER. Nos. 8 and 9.

REMINISCENCES OF COL. CLAUSE.

By Mr. Ernest Cruikshanks.

V.

From Burlington Bay, the American fleet proceeded to York, then totally defenceless and occupied only by a few invalids from the regular regiments of De Rottenburg's army. A landing was accomplished there without resistance, the sick men were paroled, and for several days afterwards vessels continued to cruise along the Canadian coast, making descents wherever a cluster of buildings indicated the existence of a settlement. Columns of smoke rising from the burning houses which marked their progress, were observed all day long from the British lines drawn around Fort George on the 31st of July, and finally De Rottenburg gave orders for a general advance, probably in the hope of compelling his adversary to recall his fleet from its career of devastation. All the American pickets were easily driven in, the village of Niagara was occupied for several hours, and their position carefully reconnoitred from the steeple of the Presbyterian church, which overlooked every part of their works. The chief result of this prolonged reconnoissance was the discovery of a force

conjectured to exceed 3,000 effective men, too strongly entrenched to be attacked by the division under his command. That this was a very moderate estimate of the strength of Boyd's army is evident from an official return dated three days later, which states the total number of men under his command at 6,635, including, however, besides non-effectives, the detachment on shipboard and in garrison at Fort Niagara and Lewiston. The demonstration may have contributed to hasten the return of Chauncey's fleet, which again anchored in the mouth of the Niagara on the 3rd of August. The appearance of so many hostile vessels apparently enjoying undisputed possession of the lake, very naturally excited feelings of profound uneasiness and depression among the Indians, whose patience was even more sorely tried by the consequent delay in the distribution of their customary stock of supplies.

On the last day of July, Claus writes to Captain Fulton, aide-de-camp to Sir G. Prevost:—

"I have in some measure been able to keep the Indians together, but they are getting tired and impatient. They are dropping off, and in a few days, I fear, we shall not have many. Gen. De Rottenburg has directed me to purchase everything to be had within fifty miles, but that was not sufficient for fifty men. Tobacco in particular is an article we cannot get. An equipment for 500 men has been forwarded to Amherstburg. I urgently request that you will send on our supply of provisions."

About the same time the following General Order seems to have been published, confirming the decision of a board on Indian claims which had assembled at St. Davids on the 20th of July.

"With a view to soften and restrain the Indian warriors in their conduct towards such Americans as may be made by them prisoners of war, His Excellency is pleased to approve of the following:—

"For every prisoner brought in alive, $5 to be paid immediately by the commissary on the certificate of the General Officer commanding the division.

"To a chief for the loss of an eye or limb, or for a wound held equivalent to the loss of an eye or limb, $100 per annum, payable in money or goods.

"To a warrior for the loss of an eye or limb, or for a wound held equivalent to the loss of an eye or limb, $70 per annum payable in money or goods.

"To the widow of a chief, killed in action, a present of $200.

"To the widow of a warrior, killed in action, a present of $170."

As indications were not wanting that an attack upon his position was contemplated, De Rottenburg directed the preparation of a grand war-feast and spared no effort to keep the Indians still remaining with him, in good humor. On the 5th of August, his anxiety was much relieved by the arrival of a messenger (Mr. Hagerman), sent by Sir James Yeo, to announce that he had sailed from Kingston several days before, but was becalmed between York and the Bay of Quinte.

Next day, Claus again appeals upon the familiar subject of Indian supplies in these terms:

"Cross Roads, 6th August, 1813.

"I have waited in vain for the Indian presents which usually come in June. It is absolutely necessary to have the following:—1,200 yds. of cotton, 1,000 yds. linen, 800 yds. stronds, 200 yds. broadcloth, 1,000 yds. ratteen, 200 lbs. vermilion, 1,000 lbs. tobacco, 1,344 lbs. ball, 400 butcher knives, 400 case knives.

"A list of these articles was given to Major Fulton to complete 500 men, but I have not heard anything of it."

Another day elapsed and still nothing was seen of Yeo's squadron. On the 7th, De Rottenburg took advantage of

the pretext afforded him by the accidental death of an Indian warrior, to visit their camp and made a brief speech.

"Brothers!" he said, "I come among you to express my regret at the accident that happened to one of your people last night and to condole with you.

"I cannot pass unnoticed your patience. You have waited day after day in expectation of seeing our ships Nothing but want of wind now keeps them away."

The quarrel between Norton and Claus resulted in the publication of a District General Order, the same day from which it became evident that the Mohawk chief had succeeded in gaining the general's ear.

"Head Quarters, St. Davids,

"7th August, 1813.

"It being desirable that every possible means should be resorted to to uphold and maintain the power and influence of the principal leaders of the Indian warriors, His Excellency, the Major General commanding, directs that the officers of the Indian Department who do not accompany the warriors in the field, but whose duties have been confined to the care and distribution of presents, shall no longer exercise their discretion in allotting articles as presents, but be guided in their distribution by such tokens or certificates of fidelity or bravery as are produced by them from the officers in charge of them who witnessed their gallant conduct before the enemy."

TECUMSEH.

By MABEL.

The oratory of the North American Indian has been the frequent theme of writers of fiction, such as Cooper, Murray, Mair, and others, who have garlanded their speeches with

flowers of rhetoric, and have—as the Indian certainly does—borrowed poetic images from storm and sunshine, river and lake, forest and prairie, as naturally as does the child of the rising sun, be he the patriarch Job or the shepherd David. Mankind are of one family, and probably the tribes of the Western prairies of North America, as Sir William Dawson remarks in his "Bible Lands," lived and bore themselves much as the nomadic tribes of Arabia and Syria, who have had the titles of kings and peoples credited to them, but who were doubtless no more than congregations of families; descendants, adherents and adopted slaves, banded together under an independent chief, for mutual support and protection.

Our authentic records of Indian oratory are limited, but on referring to the journal of the late Colonel Mackay, when superintendent of Indian affairs in the western district of Canada (1815) and to the "Indian Treaties of Canada," (Morris 1886), I do not find much more than the statements of chiefs claiming the fulfilment of treaty rights or bargaining, with tact, for the surrender of their territorial claims, but not worthy to be compared with the Biblical or Homeric records of the orators of the east.

Having found in Major Richardson's "War of 1812" (a rare and interesting narrative) an authentic account of one of the great Tecumseh speeches (p. 119), and being able to supply from memory an account of another, recounted to me by the late Benjamin Holmes, I give the latter, as best I may, since as Richardson remarks (p. 132) a short speech made by this chief on the eve of the battle of Moravian town "does not appear to have been put on record."

The occasions on which these speeches were made, and the circumstances connected therewith, may be briefly stated by way of explanation and are culled from Richardson's narrative, in which they are given in a detailed and precise manner.

In the gallant defence of western Canada by the Canadian volunteers under Brock and their Indian allies led by Tecumseh, assisted by a handful of British regulars and marines, the war, at first a defensive one, was carried into the United States territory, and although the victories at "Detroit" and the capture of that fort, of Queenstown, the "Raisin" and "Miami," had been coupled with the overthrow of the two American armies under Generals Hull and Winchester, nevertheless the death of Brock at Queenstown, the destruction of the fleet on Lake Erie commanded by the brave Barclay in 1813, the command of the Canadian forces by the incompetent Proctor and the overwhelming forces of the Americans under Harrison, to which the whole western district was laid open, ensured defeat as under a conspiracy of fate.

Proctor, then at Amherstburg, assuming, as appeared probable, but was not then certainly known, that the Canadian fleet had been captured, prepared to retire on Niagara and submitted this suggestion to his officers and allies at a council of war. Tecumseh was opposed to this course and advised that the enemy be attacked on landing. His speech before the council is thus given by Richardson (p. 119.)

"Father, he thundered, listen to your children. You see them now all before you. The war before this, our British father gave the hatchet to his red children, when our old chiefs were alive. They are now all dead. In that war, our father was thrown on his back by the Americans, and our father took them by the hand without our knowledge, and we are afraid our father will do so at this time.

"Summer before last, when I came forward with my red brethren and was ready to take up the hatchet in favour of our British father, we were told not to be in a a hurry—that he had not yet determined to fight the Americans.

"Listen. When war was declared, our father stood up and gave us the tomahawk and told us he was now ready

to strike the Americans—that he wanted our assistance; and he would certainly get us our lands back which the Americans had taken from us.

"Listen. You told us at the same time to bring forward our families to this place. We did so, and you promised to take care of them, and that they should want for nothing, while the men would go to fight the enemy—that we need not trouble ourselves with the enemy's garrisons that we knew nothing about them, and that our father would attend to that part of the business. You also told your red children that you would take good care of your garrison here which made our hearts glad.

"Listen. When we last went to the Rapids, Queenstown, it is true we gave you little assistance. It is hard to fight people who live like ground hogs.

"Father, listen. Our fleet has gone out; we know that they have fought; we have heard the great guns; but heard nothing of what has happened to our father with one arm.* Our ships have gone one way, and we are much astonished to see our father tying up everything and preparing to run away the other, without letting his red children know what his intentions are. You always told us to remain here and take care of our lands; it made our hearts glad to hear that was your wish.

"Our great father the king is the head, and you represent him. You always told us you would never draw your foot off British ground; but now, father, we see you are drawing back, and we are sorry to see our father doing so without seeing the enemy. We must compare our father's conduct to a fat animal that carries its tail upon its back, but when affrighted, drops it between its legs and runs off.

"Listen, father. The Americans have not yet defeated us by land, neither are we sure that they have done so by water; we therefore wish to remain here and fight our

* Barclay, in command of the fleet.

enemy, should they make their appearance. If they defeat us, we will then retreat with our father.

"At the battle of the Rapids last war, the Americans certainly defeated us, and when we retreated to our father's fort at that place the gates were shut against us. We were afraid that it would now be the case; but instead of that we now see the British father preparing to walk out of his garrison.

"Father, you have got the arms and ammunition which our great father sent for his red children. If you have any idea of going away, give them to us and you may go in welcome, for as our lives are in the hands of the Great Spirit, we are determined to defend our lands, and if it is His will, we wish to leave our bones upon them."

After the council, Proctor decided, as a compromise, to retire on Moravian town and there to make a stand. A hasty retreat followed, the river Thames was crossed, and Harrison with about 3,500 men was at hand. An attack was certain on the following morning, when a second council of war was summoned at which all the officers, as well as the Indian chiefs, were present.

Tecumseh had been seated with the other chiefs on the ground around the camp-fire. He had been apparently an indifferent attendant on the discussion, until the General requested him to state his views, when he rose, surveyed the assembled officers and chiefs, the light of the camp-fire casting a ruddy glow over his swarthy features, and glistening in his dark eyes. Then striding across the camp he stood face to face with Proctor and thus addressed him:—

"Brother, have you not run far enough yet? Do I see before me a chief of our great father on the other side of the waters?

"He is a great chief, and knows his children. When they do one great deed he gives them this (laying a hand on one of Proctor's brilliant epaulettes); when two

great deeds another (placing his other hand on the reverse epaulette.)

"But where did *you* get these? Brother, you are a chief of the great father. Be like Brock,

"Fight and live; or,
"Fight and die.

"Tecumseh, with his warriors, will not leave their children nor their lands.

"If you go, give us your guns that on to-morrow's sun we may use them."

"Tecumseh has said, and speaks no more. He fights, perhaps to die."

A scene followed, as the Indians, now excited by their chief's address, brandished their tomahawks and demonstrated their approval of Tecumseh's words. Proctor did not command the confidence of the British officers and men any more than that of the Indians, and the overthrow of the whole force on the following day is the best proof that they were correct in their judgment, as the British force opposed to Harrison's army was not marshalled, posted nor directed by their General, but was ignominiously abandoned by him in the middle of the fight to secure his personal safety. For this mismanagement Proctor was subsequently suspended.

Tecumseh, on the left, was opposed by Colonel Johnson. Tecumseh's rifle brought Johnson to the ground, severely wounded, but as Tecumseh rushed on him, tomahawk in hand, Johnson drew a pistol and killed him.

Holmes was not present at the battle, as he had been sent immediately after the council to destroy some bridges and stores, and thus prevent their being of use to the enemy.

This was accomplished, but Holmes was followed, and as he swam the river on his horse, the Americans managed to shoot the horse and then putting after Holmes in a boat captured him before he could reach the opposite share.

The little army, of not more than 300 men all told (including a squad of twenty dragoons and a few marines), surrendered as prisoners of war and were transported across Lake Erie and marched to Chilicothe. Here their miseries began, as some soldiers, captured in the attack on Queenstown, were found to be deserters from the British service. and having been transported to England, were there confined and were to be tried as deserters.

This led to reprisals and counter reprisals, with threats of execution of prisoners on both sides, and the result was that the Canadian defenders of their homes, who surrendered as " prisoners of war," were treated as malefactors, confined in dungeons, manacled, and shamefully abused, until finally they were carried to the State penitentiary in Kentucky, where Holmes had preceded them.

Holmes did not complain of ill-treatment. He admitted, however, that he felt uncomfortable about the neck, but survived to tell the tale, as the threats of reprisals by the Americans weakened so soon as the reverses of Napoleon I dashed to the ground the hopes on which the Americans had previously counted of taking advantage of the mother state and conquering Canada as they had previously tried in 1775.

On Tecumseh's personal appearance it is admitted that he was a noble type of the Indian warrior, tall, athletic and graceful, with large black eyes, swarthy complexion, and as he appeared ordinarily in time of peace, with his closely fitting fringed deer-skin coat and leggins, and in time of war with the addition of a single white feather in his black hair knotted on the top of his head, rifle in hand and tomahawk and knife in the military sash given him by General Brock, he was looked on by his followers as their " distinguished " leader, and by his enemies as the dreaded Shawnee warrior Tecumseh.

Richardson states that his body was disgracefully mutilated by the American soldiers *after* his death. His warriors eventually carried off the body and buried it—where—was never known.

Tecumseh sleeps, where, none can say,
Nor sky nor earth, as on that day,
His warriors hid their loved chief's face,
That thus the glory of their race
Should soar above a common grave,
And live in memory as their "brave."
"Unseen by human eye"—
Such was his parting sight.

NOTE.—The Lieutenant Holmes above referred to was in command of the Canadian cavalry (a force of twenty men) and Richardson speaks of him as a brave, dashing soldier. He became, as is well known, in after years a leader in Canadian politics, and as the Manager of the Bank of Montreal, the greatest financial autocrat that ever held sway in Canada. I tell the story as narrated to me by him, and thus endeavour to supply the blank referred to by Richardson.

A MONTREALER'S REMINISCENCES.

The late Henry Driscoll, Q C., noted as a wit, as well as a lawyer, and who died in Montreal about twenty years ago, bequeathed to me some of his literary miscellanea, for which I may strive to find a publisher, after I have had time to weld them together.

In looking over these papers recently, I met with an article written by him, which appeared in print, about forty years ago, in a country paper.

After leaving Trinity College, Dublin, he entered the army, and, if I remember rightly, was a short time under Wellington in the Peninsula. He was permitted to resign, in consequence of a *fracas* with a superior officer, and then came to Montreal, where he studied and practised law up to his decease.

I remember his telling me the substance of the following story, after one of his Lectures on Law. It may be new to

the bulk of your readers, and it seems to me to be of sufficient interest to ask for its admission into your pages.

JOHN POPHAM.

MONTREAL, 6th October, 1890.

I was, during many years, familiarly acquainted with ex-town-major Hughes, of Montreal, who died in 1826, aged 86. Although so old, while I knew him, his memory was singularly retentive, and he had abundance of anecdotes to relate of things which are now ancient. He came here with General (afterwards Lord) Amherst's army in 1760, and accompanied General Burgoyne's in its disastrous march to Saratoga. In person, he exhibited the remains of a very fine man, being fully six feet high, very symmetrical, and an admirable combination and strength activity. I may cite, as an instance of the latter, that, at 60 years of age, for a bet, he vaulted over four horses, placed side by side, on the Champ de Mars, in Montreal; by which feat, by the bye, he ruptured himself. When young. he fought a duel diagonally across a blanket, on the ice before Kingston, U..C., with an officer, whose name I have forgotten, but think that it was Pearce or Pearson, who he described (as, indeed, the event seems sufficiently to indicate), as a very resolute man. Neither was hurt, which is generally the case when men fight so near, the imminence of the danger, and the expectation of immediate death, depriving them of self-possession, and causing them to fire in an alarmed hurry. Another time, during a prolonged competition, he caught up in his arms, the adjutant of a regiment (I think it was the 24th), stationed at Montreal, and flung him out of a window; fortunately, the season was winter, the snow very deep and soft, and the adjutant very drunk indeed, otherwise he never afterwards would have vociferated "eyes right."

The very night of the day when, Montreal having capitulated, a detachment of the besieging army marched in

and took possession, Hughes, who, being a red-hot Irishman, could never keep quiet, performed a feat which caused no small sensation at the time, and excited much displeasure and anxiety in General Amherst himself. Leaguing with another dare-devil, the very man with whom he had fought the duel on the ice, and, each provided with a strong rope, they stole, after dark, to the Recollet Church, the two niches in front of which were ornamented with two small wooden painted statues representing Recollets, and, fixing the ropes round the neck of one, hauled with all their might until it fell to the ground, then, repeating, with like success, the process on the other, they each shouldered one, ran swiftly and cautiously away to the camp (which was at "The Priest's Farm"), drank a hasty glass of grog, buried their statues in the earth, under their beds, and slunk guiltily under their blankets. Next morning there was a terrible commotion; the inhabitants of Montreal, and especially the French Garrison, were seen assembled in groups, particularly before the Church, looking indignant and angrily gesticulating. Had not the captors been so numerically superior, and had not the garrison laid down their arms, it is impossible to say what might have been the consequence; for Roman Catholics then, as now, were laudably impatient of any slight to their religion. French troops have been always chivalrously sensitive to affront, and the Canadians themselves, become warlike by repeated conflicts with the British colonists of the now United States and their Iroquois allies, were perhaps still more formidable. After the effervescence had subsided a little, there issued forth from the angry mass a deputation consisting of the heads of the clergy, who repaired to the quarters of General Amherst, and, upon their application, were admitted to his presence. After the usual salutations and courtesies, they mildly represented that the population and military of the city were greatly exasperated at the outrage which had been committed, considering it to be at once a sacrilege and an insult to their religion. The General, expressing

his deep regret at the occurrence, declared that he felt certain that the mischief had not been due to any such feeling or intention, and assured them that he would use his utmost endeavours to discover and punish the guilty. With this assurance they declared themselves satisfied, the salutations and courtesies were repeated, and the reverend deputation withdrew. They had scarcely retired when the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the French General, with his état-major, arrived, and was admitted. As was to be expected from his profession and position, he spoke with much warmth at what he took to be a premeditated insult, declared his opinion that it had been intended as an affront to the French garrison especially, whom the want of arms alone prevented from resenting it, and sternly required the guilty to be brought to justice; otherwise (looking significantly at the British General), he would be compelled to consider the insult as abetted, and to act accordingly. A sudden color mounted to the cheeks of the British General at this hint, for he was a tall, athletic, red-haired man, and almost invariably spunky; but, subduing his emotion, he courteously answered that the army under his command esteemed too highly their French co-militaires to entertain for a moment the intention of offering the least slight to them,—that, no doubt, the deed had been done in a tipsy frolic by some one or more of those wild spirits which no camp is without, and that he should take all possible pains to discover and punish the offender or offenders. These polite assurances calmed the Marquis; for, though the French are, perhaps, the fiercest nation on the earth when they imagine that insult is offered to them, they are, at the same time, the most placable when a reasonable excuse or sufficient apology is offered. Displeasure, therefore, passed quickly from his countenance,—he replied in a like tone of courtesy, and even partaking of refreshments offered, he made a bow such as the nobles of the "ancient regime" alone could make, and with his suite, who had bowed almost as gracefully as himself, left the house. After the

jingle of spurs and clang of sabres had so far subsided as to indicate that the visitors were out of earshot, Amherst, turning to his aide de-camp on duty for the day, exclaimed in a strain and manner very unlike that which he had just used:—

Amherst—Did you ever hear of such a rumpus? May Old Nick seize whoever did that trick! Only to think of the abduction of the two little Recollets from the midst of a fire-eating French army, and a bigoted French population! (Bursts out laughing.) Well! if I could only find out the fellow or fellows who did it, I would make them smart, though, after all, upon my soul, if it were not for the row it has kicked up, I could almost have made one of the party myself. (Laughs again.) But I must do something, or these fiery Franks will be riddling or spitting us all. Who could it have been?

Aide-de Camp—(Demurely)—I cannot form the slightest idea, General. I should think it impossible to discover. The little Recollets, if found, might lead to the detection of the guilty party; but, ere this they have served, or, possibly at this very moment, are serving, in the shape of chips, to boil a camp-kettle. The soldiers would never "peach"; and, although there are in all bodies some sneaks of officers who would be disposed to do so, they dare not, for fear of being put in Coventry and despised by their comrades.

Amherst—Very true; but we must do something, "and that quickly." Surely there must be some clue to guide us. (Slapping his thigh.) By Jove! I think I have it! Who was that fellow who fights so many duels, is such a favorite with the women, and perpetrates so many practical jokes? I mean the fellow that was so strongly suspected of making the cavalry horses break loose by throwing a bundle of squibs among them, and of tying old drunken Maggy's arms and clothes above her head, the other night, and after hanging a lantern round her waist, of sounding the alarm bugle, that the whole camp might see the sight? (Bursts

out laughing.) Was not his name Lewis, Lieutenant Lewis?

Aide-de-Camp—No, General; it was Hughes—Lieutenant Hughes of the 24th.

Amherst—So it was! Go tell the scamp to come here immediately. Yet no! tell him to come here after dark; it will be better.

[*Exit Aide-de-Camp.*

Amherst—(Solus)—I almost wish that, if it is he, I may not find him out. If he is first in mischief, he is first in attack, and in any daring that humanity requires. He led the assault at Prasquile and Benango, and, at the risk of his life, saved the life of a poor fellow in that accursed Long Sault, that swallowed up most of the 14th, when we were coming down. However, if I must, I must. These Irish fellows can never keep quiet, but are constantly getting themselves and me into some scrape or other. (Throws himself discontentedly on a sofa.)

This soliloquy was overheard by the aide-de-camp, who, being a crony of Hughes, listened, in order to bring him all the information possible. When the General ceased speaking, the aide set off for the camp, and, faithfully reporting to Hughes all that had passed, told him that he must wait on the General after dark. Hughes accordingly presented himself at that time, and stood before the General, affecting as much modesty as he could, when the following dialogue took place:—

Amherst—Mr. Hughes, do you know who it was who, by tearing down and carrying away those two statues from the niches in front of the Recollet Church, has caused such a commotion among the French troops and the Roman Catholic population of this city?

Hughes—(Affecting surprise)—No, General; how should I know?

Amherst—(Severely)—Sir, I sent for you, not to ask me questions, but to answer mine. I strongly suspect that you know more than you choose to tell.

Hughes—(With an air of ingenuous candour)—No, indeed, General; I trust that my conduct has always been such as to exempt me from suspicion of being in any way implicated in that (with an austere look) most indiscreet action, to say the least of it.

Amherst—The d—l it has! Who set all the cavalry horses capering, the other night, by throwing a bundle of squibs among them? Who performed (trying to suppress a smile) that decorous feat of the old woman and the lantern?

Hughes—(Gravely)—Some very ill conducted individual, General. Both acts were bad, but the affair of the lantern was a burning shame. (The aide-de-camp laughs outright, the General puts his hand to his mouth and chuckles.)

Amherst—(Goodhumoredly)—Come! come! Master Hughes, let there be an end to this. (Smiling.) Of course you had nothing to do with it, but it is possible that you may find some clue to whoever has had. Go to the camp, assemble all the scamps of your acquaintance (as Molière says), and let them know that if the statues are replaced to-night, the operation shall not be watched, nor further enquiry be made; but, if not, I shall show no mercy to the delinquents.

Hughes—(Solemnly)—They would deserve none, General. I shall do my best, General, but cannot promise to succeed. No doubt the guilty party has taken its precautions.

Amherst—Now, there I differ with you entirely, Mr. Hughes; I have a presentiment, closely allied to certainty, that I shall see the little Recollets at their posts, or, rather, in their niches, by sunrise to-morrow.

Hughes—(Shaking his head dubiously)—I hope so, General, but I am far from sanguine.

Amherst—(Archly)—I am. Mr. Hughes; so drink off this glass of claret and be off! (Hughes drinks off the bumper, looks wistfully at the decanters, sighs, bows with an air of lamb-like innocence, and walks timidly away.)

Amherst—(To the aide-de-camp)—Did you ever see such a farce? I'd bet my commission that he was the deviser and principal executor of that mad prank. His affectation of innocence convinced me; it sat too ill upon his countenance to be real. But, suppose the statues to be replaced, what shall I say to the French about the punishment of the offenders? If I say that they cannot be discovered, I shall be suspected of screening them.

Aide-de-Camp—(Puzzled)—Really, General, I do not know. Ah! (Brightening up.) There are two men to be flogged to-morrow—each condemned to receive 500 lashes. We can spread the report that it is for the statue business, the French will be content, and the affair will blow over.

Amherst—No! a falsehood never leads to good. I shall tell the Marquis that I was unable to detect the delinquents, but that the unpleasant consequences of the trick becoming known, the perpetrators replaced the statues.

To return to Hughes. Glad to get out of the scrape so easily, he hastily ran to the camp, and conferred with his confederate. Under favor of the darkness, the statues were disinterred, and replaced that night. Next morning, the whole population thronged to see them, the French again became all cordiality, and Hughes a great favorite with the General, who, whenever he wanted to discover the perpetrators of any act inconsistent with discipline, used to send for him and say, with an arch smile: "Go, now, Hughes, and be as lucky as you were in the affair of the little Recollets."

The old gentleman related to me this affair in his eighty-fifth year; not at once, but at several times, while he was sipping his wine, and I was sitting by, listening to him. When he came to certain parts of it he used to chuckle joyously, rub his hands and crack his knuckles, exclaiming. "Those were pleasant times!" but, immediately after, with a sigh and a saddened look, adding: "Ah! non sum qualis eram!" Then, drawing himself up, as if he was

conscious of a creditable candour, he would observe, with an air of dignified seriousness: "I must acknowledge that I was somewhat wild in those days." I think, and so probably will think my readers (if I have any), that he might, without danger of exaggeration, have made his confession "somewhat" stronger.

But I am old and tired, and must stop and rest. Perhaps, if this be published, I may fish up some more of "my reminiscences."

THE GLENGARRY MILITIA OF 1812.

The following copy of the Roll of the 1st Regiment of the Glengarry Militia has been kindly furnished by Mr. William McLennan, N.P., of Montreal, whose grandfather is the Sergeant John McLennan of the roll. Appointed Quartermaster in June, 1814; he was in active service as Captain in 1838–9, and retired with the rank of Major in 1848. The return is in the handwriting of the Captain, afterwards Colonel D. McDonell of Greenfield. The regiment was probably quartered at Lancaster, when this return was made, in the barracks, which stood near the old church.

Roll of Captain Duncan McDonell's Flank Company, 1st Regiment Glengarry Militia.

Lancaster, Nov. 10, 1812.

Captain
Duncan McDonell.

Lieutenant
Donald McDermid.

Ensign
John Kennedy.

Sergeants

James Cummins.	Donald Cameron.	John McLennan.

Corporals

Alexander Chisholm.	William McKenzie.	Donald Kane.

Drummer
Reuben Ainsworth.

Privates

Donald McArthur.
Francois Astla.
Niel Bethune.
John McBean.
James Campbell.
Hugh Chisholm.
William Dunn.
William McDonell.
John Dingwall.
Allan McDonell.
Donald McDonell.
Alex. McDougall.
Archibald McDougall.
Samuel Falkner.
Ralph Falkner.
Francis Falkner.
Donald Ferguson.
John Ferguson (1st).
John Ferguson (2nd).
James Ferguson.
Angus Grant.
John McIntyre.
Duncan Grant.
Duncan McGregor.
Neil McIntosh.
Niel McLennan.
Michael Leclare.
Alexander McLennan.
Angus McLauchlin.
Malcolm McLaren.
John Muloy.
Andrew Munro.
Hugh Muloy.
Jacob Oddle.
Murdoch McPherson.
John McPherson (1st).
John McPherson (2nd).
James Pearson.
Thomas Ross (1st).
Thomas Ross (2nd).
Thomas Ross (3rd).
Hermon Lee.
David Snyder.
Jeremiah Lee.
Jacob Snyder.
Simon Snyder.
Alexander Urquhart.
Thomas Young.
James Young.
David Young.
James Williams.
John Wolf.
Moses Williams.
John McDonell.
Philip Munro.
Angus McDonell.
James McPherson.
Robert Nichol.
Isaiah Dern.
William Smith.
Donald McDonell.

Fortnight's return of Captain Duncan McDonell's Flank Company, 1st Regiment Glengarry Militia.

Lancaster, 10th Nov., 1812.

Detail.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Drummers.	Privates.
Present for duty	3	3	1	36
Sick in quarters	..	..	..	5
Sick absent	..	..	..	12
On furlough	..	..	..	2
Attached to the gunboat	..	..	..	6
Total	3	3	1	61

Officers present: Duncan McDonell, *Captain.*
Donald McDermid, *Lieutenant.*
John Kennedy, *Ensign.*

THE TORONTO LANDING.

By Rev. Dr. Scadding, Toronto.

A paper read before the Society of York Pioneers (Co. York, Ontario), November 4th, 1890.

During the great Industrial Exhibition at Toronto in 1890, many persons made their way to the Exhibition Grounds on the airy decks of the fine spacious ferry-boats *May Flower* and *Primrose* and were in this way for the first time conducted to the magnificent wharf or jetty, recently built at the expense of the city, at the foot of Dufferin Street, running out some seven hundred feet into the waters of the Bay. In adopting this mode of approach to the Exhibition Park, the citizen or stranger had the advantage of obtaining an interesting view as he passed along of what we may call the historic portion of the city front.

First, he had a glimpse of the old garrison, now disused, from a bastion of which for so many years floated the flag of England, where also for a long series of years, the firing of a cannon at noon every day gave the time of the surrounding neighbourhood, and within the precincts of which was situated the magazine whose explosion in 1813 caused such devastation in the ranks of an invading force.

Then next he saw the group of white stone buildings known as the new barracks, though in fact now some forty years old, in actual use as quarters for a detachment of our incorporated militia, situated on the spot pointed out by the eminent military engineer, Captain Gotha Mann, in 1788, as being best adapted for a fort to protect a town and settlement when there should be any such object hereabout to protect; a judgment of his, however, which appears not to have been adopted by the authorities at the time. And then, immediately after, he had a striking view of the monument which, since the year 1888, has marked the exact site of the Indian trading post, known as Fort Toronto from 1749 and onwards, the remains of which were so noticeable in 1788, that Captain Mann describes them by the term

"Ruins," on his map of this region, which ruins he delineates on a small scale a short distance to the west of the spot which he designates as eligible, in his judgment, for a protecting fort. Finally, the visitor disembarks at the foot of a noble street, which, though opened up and utilized only of late, has acquired much importance as an approach to the Exhibition Grounds, and is invested also with a peculiar interest as being one of the side lines laid out in the old original survey of Augustus Jones between every fifth two-hundred acre lot in the range extending from the York and Scarboro' town line to the Humber.

It is in regard to the romance, so to speak, connected with the new landing place at the foot of the street just referred to, that I desire to put on record one or two observations.

This landing place represents, more nearly than any other along our city front, the original landing place at the foot of the cliff, immediately under the palisades of the old French trading post, where from time to time, small fleets of bark canoes and other frail craft were to be seen putting in from the east, west and south for purposes of traffic more than a hundred years ago.

It so happens that the surveyor Augustus Jones makes a note in his field book, that he ran this particular line beween lots 30-31, two chains to the west of the old French Fort, so that the new landing place is situated just that small distance from the landing on the beach below the trading post.

This fact will certainly become a matter of increased interest in the future, when the landing place at the foot of Dufferin street shall have become a customary stopping place, as it is expected one day to be, for steamers from Niagara and Hamilton, not only at exhibition time, but at other periods also throughout the year. The jetty or wharf at the foot of Dufferin street has the fine peculiarity also of being in a direct line with that street; while in the case of

every other street traversing Toronto from north to south to the water's edge, the street ends in a "slip," or narrow compartment of water with wharfage accommodation on the right and left, while in this case the street is as we have seen continued out uninterruptedly on a broad roomy jetty, some seven hundred feet in length.

The landing place at the old French trading post was aforetime *par excellence* "the Toronto landing," and the space in its immediate neighbourhood seems to have been spoken of in a general way as Toronto, when as yet no town plot of that or any other name had been then laid out. When for example the Official Gazette at Niagara-across-the-lake announced in its columns that His Excellency the Lieut.-Governor had just embarked in His Majesty's schooner, *The Missisaga* for Toronto, it was to this particular spot that reference was made, and here probably he and his suite would be put ashore from the Government vessel in some canoe or light boat, sent out from the strand below the fort. It is also likely that His Excellency's famous canvas house (noted by Bouchette, p. 89, vol. 1, of his "British Dominion") was in the first instance set up somewhere near the edge of the cliff at this spot. Around the trading post at Toronto we know, from the journal of Major Robert Roger's, 1760, p. 206, there was a large cleared space which would be convenient for such a purpose; and from this point the enterprising Governor would conduct his explorations eastward to the site of the proposed town, afterwards surveyed and laid out under his inspection by Augustus Jones. At a subsequent period the migratory house may have been removed to where the garrison was afterwards established at the junction of the Garrison Creek with the Bay.

It will be of use to allude to an expression in connection with the landing here. Charlevoix designates it on his map by the term Teiaiagon. (See Charlevoix's "Histoire de la Nouvelle France." Quarto. Paris 1744, page 276. The map

is by Bellin.) In regard to this Teiaiagon some ambiguity has arisen, another Teiaiagon having been said to exist some way eastward on the shore of the lake, nearly where the town of Port Hope now stands. This is asserted in D. W. Smith's First Gazetteer of Upper Canada, page 143, who uses, indeed, an orthography slightly different, but the same term is evidently intended.

The explanation seems to be this: that every important landing along the coast of the lake would be named by the Missisagas or Otchipway, Teiaiagon, the meaning of the term being, as I am assured by well-informed authority (the late Mr. Allen Macdonell, of Toronto), a landing where a trail or portage commences, leading to some other important water route.

The Teiaiagon at Port Hope would be the terminus on Lake Ontario of the portage to the chain of back lakes leading to Lake Huron, and the Teiaiagon at Toronto was the southern terminus of the portage via the valleys of the Humber and Holland rivers to Lake Simcoe, and beyond also to the waters of Lake Huron.

As I have often before pointed out (it will be no harm to repeat the circumstance) in Charlevoix's map at the period when the landing here is designated Teiaiagon, the lake to the north which *we* call Lake Simcoe is designated Lake Toronto.

The word Toronto, as is known from the testimony of a long tradition, signifies a place of meeting, or populous region, the reference being to the territory between this lake and Lake Huron thickly peopled with the Huron or Wyandot tribes.

In the dictionary of Gabriel Sagard, a Recollet missionary who labored at an early period among the Hurons, the word Toronto occurs as also Otoronto. As applied to an inanimate thing, both words denoted a great quantity of it, as applied to men they each denoted a great number of them.

The word Toronto, often heard in connection with the idea of large numbers, would be readily transformed by the French into a local name for the populous region inhabited by the Hurons or Wyandots, and be applied also as such to the small lake situated in the midst of that region.

After the Huron tribes had been extirpated by the invading Iroquois about 1649, the term continued for a time in use, although no longer applicable, and at length altogether disappeared from the maps of the region, but strangely and happily it survived as a designation for the landing place on Lake Ontario, where traders and others had been wont to disembark for the purpose of making the portage to the populous region to the north. The letter at the end, giving to the last syllable a French nasal sound, has been dropped; as in Oswego, for Ochoueguen.

The term Teiaiagon was no longer heard, being displaced by the new appellation Toronto now so familiar to us all.

Our technical use of the word "landing place," has been derived from the old voyageur days of Canada, and it corresponds exactly in its significance with the Indian term Teiaiagon, signifying a place where you disembark to perform a necessary portage of greater or less length. "Dickenson's Landing" used to be a familiar expression amongst us as perhaps we shall remember. It was where the traveller left the bateaux in order to go round by land past the Long Sault. The Queenston landing frequently styled, as we shall remember, by way of eminence, "*The* Landing" was where you disembarked to make the portage round the Falls of Niagara. Prince Arthur's Landing at the head of Lake Superior, originated, I believe, in the fact that it was where the Prince disembarked for the land journey to western waters.

Curiously, the expression "Holland Landing," continues to this day to be familiar to travellers on Yonge street, and the passengers by the cars of the Northern railway. It is an interesting reminder of the time when "Toront.

landing" had its full force of meaning as denoting the southern ending of the portage, of which Holland Landing was the northern beginning; for it was just here where voyageurs from the waters of Lake Huron and Lake Simcoe after passing a few miles up the Holland river disembarked to make the portage southward by the valley of the Humber to the Toronto landing.

To render the discussion a little less incomplete, two or three observations are subjoined which may be regarded as "foot notes," intended to throw light on points here and there touched on in the text.

Note 1. After the disappearance from the maps of the expression Lake Toronto, as a designation for the lake which we know now as Lake Simcoe, several other names for that sheet of water appear in French and English documents. The most important of these would seem to be the French expression Lac-aux-Claies, that is, Hurdle Lake, apparently with allusion to some arrangement for spearing fish at the narrows of the lake. This name is given in D. W. Smith's First Gazetteer. English teachers and land surveyors corrupted the French expression Lac-aux-Claies into Lac-le-Clie, or Lac-la-Clie, a word having no meaning. In Captain Gotha Mann's map the old trail of the portage starting from Lake Ontario, is designated as "Part of the road towards Lake la Clie."

The primitive land surveyor Augustus Jones, also makes a note in his field book, when in the course of his operations in these parts he comes out upon the trail leading to Lake la Clie. D. W. Smith likewise notices the variation. It is of interest to subjoin that the route in the present High Park, Toronto, marked "Indian road," is a portion of the track referred to.

Other names apparently of Indian origin were likewise applied to Lake Simcoe, such as Sinion or Sheniong, said by some to mean Silver Lake. D. W. Smith has also noted

these names. Another native term, uncouth enough, for this lake, supplied by the same authority, was Ouentironk, Latinized, by Creuxius in the map given by Bressani, into *Lacus Ouentaronicus*, an effort probably to express the Otorontan of Sagard, *Beaucoup de gens*, etc.

Note 2. I have elsewhere recorded the fact that many years ago I had cognisance of a manuscript map of Western Canada at Wolford in Devon, bearing date about 1792, in which Toronto was marked, described as follows: "Toronto, an Indian village now deserted." I have no doubt that the "Indian village now deserted," really meant the remains of the Indian trading post known as Fort Toronto. In Gotha Mann's time these remains were sufficiently extensive to induce him to describe them as "Ruins" on his map, and he was able to delineate distinctly on a small scale five buildings within the enclosure of the palisade.

These remains may have afforded a partial shelter from time to time for wandering bands of Indians, and here probably were accommodated the ten Missisaga families of whom Commodore Bouchette speaks, page 89, vol. 1, of his "British Dominions in North America" as constituting the sole inhabitants of Toronto when, at the command of the Government, he commenced the survey of the harbor.

The remains of the old French Fort at Toronto were numerous and sufficiently conspicuous down to the year 1879, when a cairn was erected at the expense of the corporation, bearing a suitable inscription to mark the spot.

The necessities of the Public Industrial Exhibition, instituted about that period, required that the ground hereabout should be levelled down and sodded, causing the entire obliteration of the surface marks, which had to that date been so visible, of the foundations of the wooden buildings of the fort and of the palisade which surrounded it.

The remains of the cairn, with its inscription, are now to be seen on the east side of the base of the monument, which has since been erected to mark the same spot.

In 1889 the cemetery or small burying plot appertaining to the fort was discovered during excavation for the purpose of forming an artificial pond of water some yards to the north of the monument, just beyond the line of the palisade inclosure. A row of skeletons arranged in order was found.

One body had apparently been irregularly deposited at a shallower depth than the rest. I like to think that this may have been the body of a French soldier who, we are told, had been missing after having been sent from Niagara with despatches, and met with foul play on the journey. The body may have been found in the woods and hurriedly deposited there. (See p. 14 of my "History of the old French Fort, Toronto.")

Note 3. The mode of spelling the word Toronto on the oldest French maps and in the earliest reports of the Intendants to Paris, Bigot and others, as also in the letters of LaSalle and LaHontan, is exactly that which is in use amongst us now, but towards 1759, may be observed now and then some slight variations in the orthography of the word, evidently arising from an attempt to express by ear the sounds contained in the syllables of the word, *e* and *a* appearing as substitutes for the one or other of the three *o*'s of the fine Indian term.

In the English period after 1760, a want of certainty about these *o*'s also occasionally appears in documents. Thus Gotha Mann unfortunately spelt Toronto with an *e* in the middle syllable in his famous map of 1788, but it is to be observed that in the written report to the Government which accompanied the map, the mode of spelling is Toronto, showing that he had obtained more accurate information. At a later period, a notion seems to have prevailed among some English writers that the word was Italian, connected in some way with the familiar "Tarento," possibly used as a proper name by some French engineer. This, of course, was all very absurd, proving the entire ignorance of the writers in regard to the early history of the spot. It

should be observed, too, that Lossing, in his pictorial "History of the War of 1812," published in New York in 1869, indulges in several speculations with regard to the name Toronto, equally without historical foundation. In the wood-cut which Lossing gives (p. 593,) of the site of the old French Fort, Toronto, it is amusing to notice that he is sketching the neighbouring rifle butts under the impression that these are bastions of the old French Fort, while at the same moment the rough protuberances of soil and turf on which he is seated, really were portions of the remains of which he was in quest.

Old Mr. John Ross, whom some of us may remember, had directed Mr. Lossing accurately enough to the desired locality, but being an invalid, he had not accompanied the artist thither. Had he done so, the ridiculous mistake would have been avoided.

Lossing mentions the Trees-in-the-water interpretation of the word Toronto; some sound resembling the Huron word Toronto, has suggested the notion that such was the meaning of the term Toronto, and the trees in question were explained to be those that used formerly to be seen opposite on the island. The name Toronto did not originate in this locality at all; it took its origin from the populous place of meeting of the Wyandot bands, situated far to the north between what we now call the Lakes Huron and Simcoe, so that the Trees-in-the-water theory must have been an afterthought and is historically without foundation.

Note 4. It will be well, perhaps, to remind the modern visitor to the site of the primitive Toronto landing and to its successor at the foot of Dufferin street, that some changes have taken place along the shore of the bay here through the action of the waters of the lake.

In 1749, when the trading post was built, the cliff without doubt ran out some yards beyond its present limit, and a slight projection from the shore gave shelter to canoes and small craft drawn up in front of the palisades. The broad sheets of flat rock visible here when the waters are

calm give indications of some slight projection from the cliff. Within the memory of living men a beach of considerable breadth was to be seen along the whole of the shore of the Bay of Toronto, giving room for a road occasionally travelled.

The authorities who have charge of the Exhibition Park, checked to some extent the encroachments of the lake, and an untiring vigilance will be required to prevent serious injury in the future.

Notes.

Canadians in the Bastille.

Mr. Philéas Gagnon, of Quebec, who is well known to collectors of Canadian books, contributes an article to a recent number of *L'Union Liberale*, in which he calls attention to several interesting documents, and shows that some of the prisoners in the famous Chateau of the Bastille were men whose names appear in the early records of this country. It is well known that when the Bastille was taken, a number of documents were, in the first place, thrown out into the court-yard, and afterwards scattered to all parts of the world, as they had fallen into the hands of collectors, before the Government of the day realized the importance of preserving them. A large part of this collection was secured by a member of the Russian Diplomatic Corps, and now enriches the Imperial Library at St. Petersburgh.

Mr. Gagnon tells his readers that one of his correspondents in Paris recently offered him a bundle of these documents, and was good enough to send them out for his inspection. Amongst them he found several orders relating to prisoners whose names were already familiar to him, and it is these which form the subject of his article.

The first is an order signed "de Sartine," who was chief of police in 1764, in which year it bears date, and is addressed to the Count de Jumilhac, who was then Governor

of the Bastille. It is an order to allow Madame Péan and Madame de Linot to visit the Sieur Péan whenever they choose to do so. This document is endorsed with the dates of the various visits, from which it appears that these ladies visited the Sieur Péan 58 times between the 3rd March and the 29th June.

Another document, dated the 9th April, 1764, is a request to allow a notary to visit this same prisoner, who wishes to give a power of attorney to his brother-in-law, Mr. de Meloizes, who is about leaving for Canada, to realize upon the goods of the Sieur Péan there.

This Sieur Péan, whose name in full was Michel Jean Hughes, was a knight of the Order of St. Louis, and ex-captain and adjutant of marines in Canada, and was an accomplice of the notorious Bigot.

It is said that Péan's position in this ring resulted from Bigot's admiration for his wife, who is said to have been a beautiful woman who knew how to use her charms to promote her interests. Péan was imprisoned in the Bastille on the 13th November, 1761, by an order signed "Louis," and countersigned "Choiseul."

Another of the Bigot party who shared the fate of Péan was Jean Cadet, who, during the last three years of the French domination in this country, was Commissary-General. He was of humble origin, but became immensely rich, and the author of his Memoirs, which were published by the Historical Society of Quebec, remarks that he lived in the same style as the Chevalier de Levis, and kept up the retinue of a General. In the proceedings which were taken against him on his return to France, he was condemned to be banished for nine years, to pay 300 *livres* fine, and to return six millions, which, as a matter of fact, he never did, although it is said that his defence cost him 300,000 *livres*. Amongst his associates in this trial were Pénisseau, la Barthe, Duverger, Maurin, Corperon, Bigot, Péan, Le Mercier, Varin, Jonquaire, de Boishebert, Martel, de Villers, Fayolle, Barbel and Vaudreuil.

The other documents relate chiefly to the same matter, and are all dated in 1764.

It is curious to note that nearly every member of this famous ring was arrested on the 13th November, 1761, as soon as he set foot in France after their return from Canada, and at the end of a voyage which had been so rough and dangerous that they had despaired of ever reaching their native land.

The trial commenced in December of the same year. Cadet at first protested his innocence, but finally made a full and complete confession. It was argued by Bigot's advocate in answer to the charge that he had carried on business in Canada contrary to the edicts of 1669 and 1701, that these edicts were invalid by reason of non-registration by the Superior Council in New France. Of twenty-one persons who were accused in this famous trial, ten only were found guilty.

Mr. Gagnon acknowledges his indebtedness to Mr. Benjamin Sulte for the information that Francois Marie Perot who was Governor of Montreal in 1672, had also been a prisoner in the Bastille for three months in the autumn of 1674. This was intended as a punishment for having resisted the orders of Frontenac in connection with the arrest of de Carion.

In a note which appears on page 679 of the fifth volume of "Margry Memoirs and Documents, etc., Paris, 1887," it is stated that the 31st July, 1718, is the date at which Lamothe-Cadillac left the Bastille. Mr. Gagnon has not been able to find any other mention of the imprisonment of this person and asks for information.

It is curious to note the divergence of opinion as to the treatment of the prisoners in this famous Chateau. According to some the table was sumptuous and the prisoners had the free use of an attendant. On the other hand, some of the prisoners appear to have taken a very different view of it, and it is not unnatural to suppose that the treatment varied not a little.

The article from which the above is drawn is one of a series which Mr. Gagnon has contributed to this newspaper in relation to the early history of Canada. These articles have done not a little to stimulate the interest in historical research, which is certainly increasing.

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October, November and December, 1890.

HARVARD COLLEGE

CANADIANA.

" Rose-wreath and Sear-de-lys,
Shamrock and thistle be
Joined to the maple tree.
Now and for aye ! "

—JOHN READE

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THE QUEBEC BILL.

CANADA'S TRANSITION STATE.

A paper read by MR. GERALD E. HART before the Society for Historical Studies, Montreal, November, 1890.

"Voici le Pape du Canada et le Sot des Anglicans,"* were the significant words appended to the small but handsome marble statue of George the Third, the gift of the King to the city, now decorated with full papal insignia, mitre, cross and rosary, the face even bedaubed with lamp black, which met the eyes of the astounded citizens of Montreal as they wended their way to their places of business on the morning of the 1st May, 1775.

The motive was suspected and generally understood, so that there was an evident lack of zeal attending the efforts to discover the actual perpetrators, the authorities, no doubt, realising that they were treading on dangerous ground. Heavy rewards were offered and much apparent indignation expressed. An example had to be found and a martyr made, and as a young merchant, named Franks, did not denounce the act as loudly as all others, and had the

* Here is the Pope of Canada and the Fool of Englishmen.

hardihood to tell a new king's councillor of the now rising French-Canadian nation, that it was not customary to hang for so trivial an offence in England, Mr. Picotté de Belestre shewed his authority by having him committed to prison. This may have been for the insult to his dignity, rather than any well-grounded suspicion that he was the perpetrator. In those days a magistrate could imprison without assigning cause, and thus Mr. Franks was not aware of the crime laid at his feet. The whole body of English merchants offered to become his bail; but the Governor, as soon as it reached his ears at Quebec, saw fit, without enquiry of any kind, to release him within a week and to severely reprimand Mr. Belestre for his officiousness.

History oft repeats itself and we have here a verification of the adage, for the self-same cause occasioned this insult to the King as in after years, 1849, the loss of the seat of Government to Montreal; acts of sedition, unpardonable in themselves, but the expression or voice of an indignant people in condemnation of the Government for granting or yielding to French supremacy in an English colony to the detriment of English rule.

No day in the annals of Canada since the conquest, has been invested with the constitutional importance of this memorable May day of 1775. We may well call it "the birthday of Canada's autonomy," for on this day the "Quebec Act" was to come into force, the first act of the British Legislature having reference to Canada, the foundation of our present political status and the laws under which we are governed.

It was this act which had aroused the indignation of the British population, and a large number of the French citizens of Montreal, from whose hand, no doubt, the insult had emanated, as the language used, and subsequent acts, would imply, and well would it have been had this childish treatment of the king's effigy been the sole outcome of the wrath of the people; but unfortunately it was not destined

to end here, and much more serious consequences soon followed.

To understand the political condition of the country, it will be necessary to revert to 1760, when England assumed the administration of affairs.

For the four years immediately following the conquest, Canada remained under military jurisdiction, with Major Gen. James Murray acting as governor in chief in immediate succession to General Amherst, to whom the surrender of the country was made. The French peasants accustomed to military dominancy did not find his rule at all irksome. He was moreover largely guided in his legal decisions upon civil matters by the advice of the French advocates, notable among whom was François Joseph Cugnet, a very able and talented Canadian, who exercised for years after this immense influence with the British governors, and this tended to render his administration very popular with the people. Cugnet's influence extended even beyond the limits of this province, his opinion being sought by the English ministry in all questions affecting the old inhabitants.

In 1763, after the treaty of peace had been signed by which the conquest of Canada for the British Crown was ratified, King George the Third issued his royal proclamation putting an end to the military regime and substituting for it English laws and customs. The words used are :— "That in the meantime, and until such assemblies " (referring to a preceding section in which the governor was authorized to summon and call general assemblies of the people)" could be called, all persons inhabiting in, or resorting to His Majesty's said colonies " (referring to the distributing of his American conquests into four colonies, Quebec, East Florida, West Florida and Granada)" might confide in His Majesty's royal protection for the enjoyment of the benefit of the laws of his realm of England.....for the hearing and determining of all causes, as well criminal as civil,

according to law and equity, and, as near as may be, agreeably to the laws of England."

Governor Murray and his council of twelve, partly appointed by England and partly by himself, immediately promulgated this proclamation and in his first or great ordinance dated 17th September, 1764, constituting the courts of justice, these English laws, in abolition of the French law in its entirety, were put into force with the solitary reservation "that the French laws and customs should be allowed and admitted in all causes in the said court (Common Pleas) between the natives of the said province, in which the cause of action arose before the first day of October, 1764." A Court of Chancery was further established with the Governor as Chancellor, and two Masters, two examiners and one registrar. Full effect was thus given to the king's proclamation, but Murray, under the all-powerful influence of Cugnet and the French gentry soon upset the whole force of the king's edict by the resolution of council adopted the following month: "That in actions relative to the tenure of lands and rights of inheritance, the laws and usages of Canada should be observed as the rule of decision according to equity, conformable to the former ordinance." This was never confirmed by the king, and as the Governor and Council had no authority to pass such a resolution, it was not only illegal but wholly *ultra vires*, nevertheless it was acted upon and rendered "confusion worse confounded" in the decisions of the courts under the two systems of law thus brought into force; a constant cause of complaint to the Crown in after years, and which ultimately brought about the Canada Act of 1891.

General Murray, after the conquest resided in Quebec, where he soon became on most intimate terms with the French gentry, all of whom had become British subjects by taking the oath of fidelity. Son of Lord Elibank and of an autocratic turn of mind he could not condescend to associate with the commoners from England who came to settle

in the country, many of whom felt the unjust imperiousness of his nature and the pointed slights he gave them. From the constitution of society of that day, it was natural for Murray to find his associates and friends largely among the self-styled French noblesse, not one of whom were peers in fact but gentry only, of whom there were one hundred and fifty chiefly residing in Quebec—rather than among the English residents, chiefly merchants who followed in the wake of the conquest, respectable and wealthy as many of them were, intelligent as they proved themselves to be, the progenitors of our race, but unequal in social status to the aristocracy of England with which Murray was allied. To properly appreciate this feeling we have only to remember the power of the nobility and the great divisions of society which existed in all European countries at that time.

Dissatisfied with Murray's many acts of partiality towards the French-Canadians and the introduction of the French law in several of the ordinances which he and his council made, the British population held indignation meetings and petitioned the king for his dismissal. The London merchants trading with Canada supported this in a remonstrance and petition they laid before the Board of Trade and Plantations. The result, was Murray's recall within two years of his appointment as governor! He was succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel Irving as administrator, he being the oldest councillor, but he in turn was almost immediately superseded by Brigadier General Sir Guy Carleton who was appointed Lieutenant-Governor in 1766, and Governor-in-Chief in 1768. He was no improvement on Murray, but far more diplomatic and less imperious. He was politic enough not to show his hand at all times and knew how "to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds." He still retained the counsel of Cugnet which was ever unfavorable to British interests, but fewer ordinances were passed than under Murray favoring this law-maker's opinions.

The best illustration of Carleton's character may be gathered from his reply to the king's request for a report from him upon the best system of laws for the colony. Having in view the ignoble discomfiture of his predecessor and his wreck upon a somewhat similar rock, he sailed around it, by an artful report, the concluding clause of which reads; —"That they (Governor and Council) cannot draw a balance in favor of any one of these methods in preference of the other, nor find a new one preferable to them all, being unequal to the task. We have no other merit than that of giving some information of facts. Your Majesty is best able to decide."

In 1773, Sir Guy visited England and while there he was faced with two petitions to the king, one from the British residents in Canada stating that they numbered over 3,000 and asking that the king instruct the Governor to convene the House of Assembly expressly granted to them by the terms of the royal proclamation of 1763 and for which they had waited ten long years, representing that the situation and circumstances of the province required the same. In the memorial accompanying it, it was intimated that ordinances repugnant to British laws were constantly being passed, and the petitioners recommended that an assembly subject to the king's pleasure (thus not objecting to Catholic representation if he saw fit to have it) should be convened.

The other was from the French noblesse, advocates, and others, expressly adverse to any House of Assembly being convened, but asking for an enlarged executive council to assist the Governor in which they were to have full representation.* Also for the repeal of that part of the proclamation of 1763 in which the English laws were made absolute and further asking for the restoration of their laws, privileges and customs, and the extension of the boundaries of the province to its former (French) limits. They also asked to be allowed to hold office under the Crown and entreated

* Hitherto they had been excluded owing to their religion.

for the rights and privileges of citizens of England. The petition was signed by sixty-five names, many of whom were boys and lads at school, representing that they spoke in the name of over one hundred thousand French-Canadians resident in the country.*

More they could not ask for and more they could not wish for, than they obtained in reply to this remarkable petition. The rights and penalties of conquest were completely expunged and the vanquished were now the victors. Well may their writers of to-day proclaim, "We were ceded not conquered!"

Within a few months of the presentation of these petitions, a bill from the House of Lords, where it had been passed without a challenge, was introduced by the Government in the Commons in the last days of the session of Parliament of 1774, when not over 130 members out of 558 were present upon a division, entitled "An Act for regulating the Government of the Province of Quebec," better known as "The Quebec Bill." Rushed through the Houses with undue haste, notwithstanding petitions and remonstrances from the merchants of London concerned in the Canada trade, and Cursitor Baron Maseres, acting on behalf of the British residents of the province, the bill was passed, and received the king's assent in the face of a very strong protest from the corporation of the city of London. Thus became law the famous "Quebeck Bill" (14 George III, chap. 83), and it was very soon seen that the French petition of sixty-five individuals had supplied the basis of its provisions.

By it the French civil law and Roman Catholic dominancy were established in Canada.

Tithes and all the other church dues were now made legally collectable, which had not been the case since the con-

* At this time the French Canadian population exceeded 150,000 as proved by evidence in the proceedings of the Quebec Bill. *For list of these names see p. 193 of appendix.*

quest, fifteen years previous. Roman Catholic disabilities as to tenure of office were removed. The limits of the province were largely extended. In short by this bill, the whole fabric of English dominancy in the province of Quebec was for ever, at one fell blow, annihilated, leaving but a British protectorate as a result of the heroic conquests of Wolfe and Amherst, to meet the groaning expense of which the foundation of England's public debt was largely laid.

Such a bill as this, it would be natural to infer, would have made the hearts of his Canadian new subjects, as they were called, rejoice. But not so; the peasantry in whose name the bill had been procured and whom it was specially intended to benefit, mourned in sackcloth and ashes the moment information as to its provisions reached them. "Are we reverting to the old bygone days of French rule, when we were as slaves in the land, subject to every whim and order of our seigniors and priests?" asked they of each other? "If so, we repudiate the action of these sixty-five self-termed representatives and will not accept the bill. We have been quite satisfied with British institutions and treatment during the past fifteen years, and wish for no change. We have had liberty of action, and have materially benefitted by the liberality in purchase of our products. We have supported our priests and church voluntarily and have received politeness which we were unaccustomed to, and much better service in consequence."

These sentiments found expression in a petition of remonstrance forwarded by the British residents to the king and Parliament asking for the repeal of the bill: "And whereas an Act of Parliament has lately passed, intituled, an Act for making more effectual provision for the Government of the province of Quebec, which is said to have been passed upon the principles of humanity and justice, and at the pressing instance and request of the new subjects, signified to His Majesty by an humble petition setting forth their dislike to the British laws and form

of Government, and praying in the name of all the inhabitants and citizens of the province, to have the French institutes in their stead and a total abolition of trials by jury, together with a capacity of holding places of honor and trust in common with His Majesty's ancient (British) subjects; we crave leave to inform your honorable House, that the said petition was never imparted to the inhabitants in general, that is, the freeholders, merchants and traders, who are equally alarmed with us at the Canadian laws being to take place, but was in a secret manner carried about, and signed by a few of the seigneurs, chevaliers, advocates, and others in their confidence at the suggestions and under the influence of the priests."

To this petition one hundred and eighty-four representative names by committees from all over the country were appended including many French; and it was stated it would have received a much larger French acquiescence by signatures were it not that the act had been obtained by their priests with whom they did not wish to be on ill terms or offend.

In England likewise the bill was very hotly denounced after it had passed, and innumerable pamphlets with inflammatory titles and cartoons, the popular mode of expression of the day, were issued. But all to no avail; the bill had become law, and was not to be altered by petitions, remonstrances or public denunciation.

That the civil disabilities of the people arising from their religion only, should be removed, does credit to Carleton and Edmund Burke (the latter, in all other particulars, strongly opposed the bill) with which liberality and justice none will disagree. The French inhabitants had taken the oath of fidelity to the Crown and were fully entitled to all the privileges of British subjects. The pages of Canadian history have been too much darkened by religious dissensions and disabilities, and are so to-day, for the prosperity and welfare of the country. It is a relic of barbarism, of that re-

grettable mediæval period, the dark ages, that any body of people should be ostracised from political preferment for religious belief; the accident of birth or the heritage of ancestry. But no less dangerous is the doctrine that any such religion should receive state recognition, especially when contrary to the established faith of the Crown of the country to which it owes allegiance, or possess privileges not accorded to all other faiths, simply because it is numerically the strongest. Such was the blunder of Carleton's advice and Lord North's action; but this was a period of blunders for which kingcraft was more responsible than the elected ministry of the country; the "Quebeck Bill," which emanated from the king himself, contained many provisions contrary to the written opinion and views of the high law officers and ministers of the Crown, and it was largely owing to the authorship of the bill that it prevailed.

It is not therefore a matter of much surprise that the French-Canadian peasantry, uncertain of the benefits to accrue to them under this act in other regards than that of the rescinding of their religious disabilities, were not long in doubt as to the course they should adopt during the American invasion which almost immediately followed the coming into force of this obnoxious bill on the 1st May, 1775. Openly espousing the cause of the invaders, they rendered the way easy for the conquest of Montreal, the whole of Lower Canada, and the investiture of Quebec, many joining the invaders notwithstanding that Bishop Briand used all the thunders of the church to prevent them, and tried in vain to get them to join the British forces and remain loyal, but they were independent and free men then and shewed it, the clergy had not yet recovered its grip of former and after days.

With a very small garrison and requiring soldiers to repel the invaders, Carleton applied to the seigniors for help, the friends for whom he had done so much. Quoting from an author of the day, we will see in his own language how far

the influence of the gentry over the people extended. Thus, M. Taschereau, the seignior of Beauce, endeavored to enlist the services of his censitaires but was indignantly refused, they adding that they did not now acknowledge his authority over them, or that he had any right to command their military service. Mr. La Corne, seignior of Terrebonne, summoned his tenants, and received for answer: "We have now become subjects of England and do not look on ourselves as Frenchmen in any respect whatever." Mr. La Corne, unaccustomed to being disobeyed by his vassals, struck some of those who spoke loudest; this provoked the people to such a degree he had to beat a hasty retreat to Montreal, threatening to return with an armed force to compel them. The people hearing this forthwith armed themselves, some with guns, others with clubs, and they all resolved to die rather than submit to be commanded by their seigniors.

Mr. Deschambaud went over to his seigniory on the River Richelieu and harangued the inhabitants in a similar manner. Like consequences and refusal ensued. He drew his sword; they surrounded him and beat him severely. Fearing reprisals, they armed themselves to the number of near 3,000 and marched from Fort Chambly to Fort St. Johns to face the two regiments of regulars in garrison there. General Carleton sent an officer to disavow the acts of their seignior and requested them to disperse, stating that all would be well if they would return to their homes. This was immediately complied with. Mr. Cuthbert, an English gentleman, who had purchased the seigniory of Berthier, imitating the manners of the French, summoned his censitaires to assemble at his house and received for answer, that if he had anything to communicate he might come to them; appointing a cross road as the place of meeting. Mr. Cuthbert came thither and made an immediate demand of their services, as their seignior, to repel the invader. They replied "that if that was his business with them, he had best retire to his own

home and trouble them no more, for that not a man of them would follow him. And as soon as he was gone they all made oath on the cross round which they were assembled, that they never would take arms against the invaders; that if one among them offered to join the Government, they would directly burn his house and his barn, and destroy his cattle; and that, if General Carleton should attempt to compel them into service, they would repel force by force."

This happened in the latter end of July or the beginning of August, 1775.

Afterwards, about the end of September, Mr. Lanaudière, seignior of another place, came to them from Montreal and said that he was employed by General Carleton to lead them against the provincials—martial law having been declared in the interval—otherwise he assured them that their lands and houses should be laid waste and burnt. Upon his return in a few days to enforce his mission he, Mr. Tonnancour, and sixteen others who accompanied him were all made prisoners by the inhabitants.

Warm debates ensued among them, whether or not they should send Mr. Lanaudière to the provincial (invaders) camp near St. Johns. It was at length agreed to set him and his friends at liberty on his promise to obtain for them General Carleton's pardon for this outrage, and on his further promise never to come again amongst them on a like errand.

Violent as the proceedings of these people may appear, and averse as they may seem to the service required of them, they had intimated that if General Carleton would promise by affixing a writing to that purpose to the church door, that he would use his influence and endeavors for the repeal of the Quebec Bill and for restoring to them those privileges of which they were deprived by its operation; in that case they all declared themselves ready to defend the province for Government. "But," say they, "as things

are now circumstanced, what have we to fight for? We have enjoyed very valuable privileges since we became subjects of Great Britain; we had the royal promise for the continuance of that enjoyment. On a sudden, without our having done anything to merit such treatment, we are deprived of those inestimable privileges, and reduced to our former state of slavery. The people whom we are desired to regard as our enemies tell us they are our real friends and they give us convincing proofs of their sincerity.

They are now in arms for our defence from our oppressors; and they make *the repeal of the Quebec Bill one of the conditions on which they offer to lay them down.* Which party then ought we to assist? Certainly that one which is fighting for the restoration of that liberty to us, of which we have been wantonly and most cruelly deprived by the other."

It is further added "this is not the language of that dis-"trict (Berthier) only; the same is in the mouths of the "most ignorant peasants all over the province."

Carleton promised but did not perform, and therefore did not succeed, notwithstanding his proclamation of martial law, in securing the services of any considerable number of the French peasantry; on the other hand some openly joined the forces of the provincials while the greater number maintained a doubtful neutrality so long as they remained on Canadian soil. Well was it for England that no Papineau arose among them at this time, as nothing would then have prevented the onward course of the provincials to the summit of Quebec Hill and the planting in after days of the Stars and Stripes with a fourteenth star for Canada, on the citadel flagstaff.

Reviewing the events of this period in the light of the present, it is difficult to comprehend the attitude of the French-Canadians (the tiers-état) towards their priesthood, their nobility and their laws, all of which they held so dear and cherished under French regime, in thus openly pro-

claiming their opposition to them then and dissatisfaction with any movement tending to restore, even partially, the customs they formerly lived under. Fifteen years of liberty outweighed one hundred and fifty years of the former religious and military dominancy.

Evidently a plebiscite would have altered the destiny of Canada, for an overwhelming majority would have declared in favor of the adoption of the whole body of English customs and laws.

It is likewise a strange anomaly to find England pursuing so different a course in the treatment of her conquest of Canada to that which she had universally adopted hitherto. Dealing with such populous countries as Ireland and Wales she enforced the adoption of her laws and customs. Conquering New Netherland she not only made the Hollanders replace their laws by hers, but she added the greater change of transforming it into a new country by altering its name to New York. In her other conquests made in this very war, of Florida, Dominica and other places in the West Indies, she substituted English, for the Spanish and French laws and customs in use.

Foreign languages likewise received no official recognition elsewhere as they did in Canada; while the Roman Catholic religion wherever existent was proscribed as a *religion of state*, tolerated in Maryland, persecuted in Ireland, but established in Canada!

Wherefore the concessions to Canada? Wherefore so radical a change from precedent? Was it the reflex of that little spark struck at Boston in 1773 by which the torch of republicanism was set burning, and which the British Government feared might extend to so close a neighbor as Canada, were they to meet the wishes of the English population by establishing a House of Assembly at Quebec, the political and fiscal policy of which might not be any more in accord with British ideas, than those of the neighboring colonies which were now occasioning so much trouble and in

open revolt? Between the two stools Britain fell; the Quebec Bill was as obnoxious to the provincials as the stamp act, and was as injurious to the British interests in Canada as the latter was to its sovereignty in the American colonies. Whatever was the cause the result has not been beneficial to Canada or England, for instead of the homogeneous unity expected by the conquest, from which unity there would be strength, a very disunited and complex dominion has ensued from the mistaken policy of the Quebec Bill.

APPENDIX.

Extracts from Speeches made in the House of Commons during the Passage of the Bill.

Solicitor General Wedderburn:—I do not think in the abstract or theory, the highest degree of liberty ought to be granted to a country, situated as Canada is—*not the highest degree of political liberty.*

The next clause was read, enabling His Majesty's Canadian subjects to hold and enjoy their property and possessions, together with all customs and usages relative thereto, and all other civil rights, etc.; and that, in matters of controversy, relative to property and civil rights, resort should be had to the laws of Canada for the decision.

Mr. Edmund Burke.—The question under this clause is whether we shall take away all the law of England, at six months or twelve months hence. I declare myself incapable of arguing the question. I have neither strength of body nor energy of mind to proceed at this late hour.

He spoke warmly against going on with the debate, and left the House. Lord John Cavendish spoke to the same

effect, and also went out. Mr. Cavendish spoke to the same purpose, but would not go out.

Mr. Thomas Townshend.—The gentlemen opposite, who are now sitting in sullen silence, as soon as they have obtained a kind of licence to proceed, by the absence of those honourable members who oppose them, will go further than people who talk upon the subject. I should be glad to know how far we are to go. I believe we have no instance upon the journals of the House of business being treated in this manner. And why? Because the administration have been idle—have neglected their duty, and been guilty of criminal negligence. Looking at the volume of reports upon the table, I ask—where is Lord Palmerston? Where are the members of the Board of Trade? Why have they gone from their opinions? Gentlemen who have signed their names to a report should tell us why they now have differed from that report. Is this all to be passed over in sullen silence, and no answer to be given to any objection?

Colonel Barre.—I do not rise to express any warmth. A bill of greater magnitude never came before the House in such a shape as this bill. It passed the House of Lords without a single evidence in its favour. When it was sent down here we obtained some evidence, but other documents were refused. The noble lord himself, with every appearance of candour, in the first stages, called for assistance in discussing. Sir, we have discussed till we are tired. Will anybody deny that the noble lord has not had help, even from those who, only as members of this House, were required to give it him? The request made by my honorable friend is a very proper one. If other gentlemen cannot draw an answer, I cannot draw one. I can only say, it would have been more in character to declare that you shall pass this bill as the Lords have sent it, and not have any discussion upon it: that would have been the more manly conduct.

Mr. Charles Fox.—It is indeed indecent conduct; as it appeared to me, the other night, when ministers refused to call for General Murray. What was then said? "No precipitation is used in the passing of this bill; as much time is given to it as to any other." Whoever made this assertion has frankly broke his word, and will be as much respected as a man ought to be, who makes a promise and does not keep it. What single attempt has been made on our part to delay this bill? Has the same debate been gone over twice? They have not hinted that there has been any delay. Upon what ground does the bill now stand? Two or three clauses have been gone through. Are the rest not as material? Yes; but they should not be taken up at twelve o'clock at night. The boundary was settled in the House of Commons, without having anything fixed by those whose duty it was to have that boundary fixed. Was no boundary necessary, in their opinion, that they came unprepared?

Lord North.—As to the boundary, I, for one, was very well satisfied with it, as it stood in the bill. Several gentlemen, speaking for particular provinces, entreated that other boundaries might be taken; and there was that attention paid to their doubts, that, provided they would settle a good boundary, the friends of the bill were willing to give way; in my opinion, the first boundary ought to have satisfied everybody. As for the cause before us, I am very much mistaken if it has not been fairly debated already; but I do not in the least object to have it debated again. I would submit it to any honourable gentleman, whether, after we have sat so long upon it,—after the clause has been so fairly debated—is it so very violent, so very precipitate, to proceed with it before the committee rises to-night. I am for proceeding at least through this clause before the committee breaks us.

The committee having gone on with the clauses, to the end of the criminal law clause, Lord North said, if any

gentleman wished to adjourn, he had no objection. The Chairman was going on, but Mr. Charles Fox got up and desired the committee might adjourn, which it accordingly did. Lord North said to him, are we not very candid? I said, I generally was for adjourning at twelve o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, June 8.

The House having resolved itself into a committee of the whole House on the bill,

Mr. Edmund Burke said:—I should, Sir, have proposed some amendments to the bill last night, if my ideas had not been thought ridiculous, by the conduct of the committee, in proceeding with a most material part of the bill at twelve o'clock, when the natural constitutions of gentlemen were perfectly exhausted. When this bill was brought down to us, the general voice of almost every one who supported it was, that it was a very imperfect measure as it stood, and that, agreeably to the universal practice, it would be open to any amendment. Unfortunately, I was utterly unacquainted with the bill. I took it up with a determination to come here, not only with my mind unprejudiced, but with a determination to avoid everything that had any shadow of passion in it; and I appeal to the candour, the direct justice, of parliament, whether the clause fixing a boundary to such an extent of territory, or the clauses settling the laws and religion of such a province, could be well debated, upon the numberless momentous questions that arose, in less time that we have given to them. The privilege allowed in committees of the House of speaking more than once, is a privilege founded upon reason. An argument upon the principle of a measure may be dispatched in the House at one speaking, as well as a thousand; but in the committee, where matters of detail are gone into, it is necessary to speak more than once. The noble lord, therefore, has no right to say that we have interposed any delay. The first part of the bill took us up

two days—in my opinion, a very short time to spend upon such a subject. Fixing the geography was the work of one day; fixing the religion of another. These and other delays, if they can be called delays, were absolutely necessary. The committee ought to take care that no delays but necessary ones should be allowed in this business—but the necessary delay arising from a detail. Now, Sir, if an entertainment should be given ten miles from London, and we were to adjourn over this day and thereby make the business of the nation give way to such entertainment, what would be the opinion of the people? I do not censure the House for entering into the innocent gaities of this life, provided they give time enough for the discharge of more important duties. If any youth, in the gallantry of his spirit, calls gentlemen to such an entertainment, I would not say, do not enjoy it; but go and enjoy it if you have taken care, at the same time, to provide for the prosperity of your country. But while I say this, I ask that the same indulgence which is given to those who engage in scenes of joy and dissipation should be given to those who have need of rest to support their bodies to enable them to come here to discharge their duty, I for one complain that I am precluded from doing my duty. I complain on the part of the people of England, who have sent here five hundred and fifty-eight men to represent their interests that they and I are cruelly, wickedly and unjustly treated. I complain of it and demand justice; that is, I demand a reparation of the wrong which has been done us. I have spoken strong words. Last night I spoke feebly; but now my voice is raised my accusation is steady and resolute. I had several material amendments to propose to the clauses. I had an equitable clause with regard to revocation, etc. (He mentioned other alterations). I wished to have provided a remedy for the objection that causes were tried by persons not fit to be treated. My opinion is that the people of Canada, with regard to the civil law, have not expressed

their dislike of the trial by jury. These are some of the matters that I would have stated; but it would have been impossible to have debated them at that hour of the night. Having said this in defence of a conduct which may have been a little unjustifiable, I will add that this headlong mode of proceeding will not tend to make this law go down with the people of England. They will certainly dislike it. America will dislike it. As I was not permitted to make these amendments before, I conclude I shall not be heard to-day.

Mr. Cavendish was sorry the honourable gentleman did not make the amendments he intended.

Lord North—These amendments may still be made by being thrown into the form of a clause. The honourable gentleman is not precluded from making, even in the committee, any alteration he proposes; but as to the propositions themselves which he threw out, as far as I understand them, I shall certainly be against admitting them. We are not, at the present time, competent to enter into a detail of the necessity of those provisions for the constitution of Canada. All that the parliament of Great Britain can do is to lay down general rules; to say, you shall proceed according to Canadian customs, or according to the English law. Every alteration which the circumstances of the country can admit of—every variation which the interest of the old subjects may require—all these circumstances will be more properly considered upon the other side of the water where they may be regulated by special ordinances. It would not be in vain, and more likely to occasion confusion, for the parliament of Great Britain to attempt to enter into the particular laws by detail; to say, this law you shall have, or you shall not have. The best way is to give them the Canadian customs and to let them be altered. What is of infinite advantage, they will thus have the law that they understand. The laws and customs of Canada are the basis of the law that they understand. If any ordinances are

made varying that law they will be promulgated, and they will understand them. For these reasons, I shall certainly oppose any proposition for entering into a detail connected with the English criminal or the Canadian civil law; because I think that detail, these alterations, and those amendments which are necessary can only be entered into and settled with propriety by lawyers upon the spot. As to the proceedings of last night, I shall remain satisfied in the consciousness of the rectitude of my conduct; it is a very sufficient regard, and it is the only regard I shall be likely to have. Upon the whole, I will venture to say, that there never was a bill that has been more amply examined and debated than this has been. There are few bills that have remained so long in the House as this has done; there have been few propositions where there has not been a readiness in the friends of the bill, to accept any suggestions, from whatever quarter they might come. The honourable gentleman says that we are to adjourn to-morrow for an entertainment, which he approves of as an entertainment; but he thinks, that as he left the House at twelve last night, it would be a disgrace to the House to adjourn over to-morrow; but I see no reason why, upon Friday, we may not give this bill every attention. I accuse no person of designed delay, but, at the same time, no person can accuse me of having shut out any material amendments. Those amendments may be proposed now; many could not be proposed last night, and if they are not proposed in the committee, there are yet two stages when they may be proposed. I was accused of a sullen silence last night; perhaps I may be excused from expatiating upon a matter not really before us, but when the House is taken up with what is not of importance to the bill, I trust that the candour of the House will excuse me if I respect the time of the House more than the justification of myself from any personal charge.

Lord John Cavendish.—Though I never can find out from

whence this bill came, and though nobody seems to avow it, there is evidently concurrence enough to carry it on.

Mr. Thomas Townshend. I must complain, sir, of the slovenly manner in which the two clauses were carried through the committee. I will venture to say, that two-thirds of that majority never heard the debate. It consisted of those gentlemen who take their meals regularly, and who are now taking their dinners. They come in when they have dined, and are extremely clamorous, crying, go on! go on! I do not thank the noble lord for the candour of last night; but I thank him for the candour of to-day, in chalking out a method of going on for the future. I likewise understand that the House is to adjourn for a day, on account of a *fete champetre*; and to be sure, the day that follows the ninth of June is a day more proper for a *fete champetre*, than for a committee of the House ef Commons to be sitting on so important a bill. But, at the same time, I cannot but confess, that the noble lord has shown an amazing degree of foresight in fixing, above all other days in the year, on the 10th of June, for finishing a bill which goes to establish Popery. For God's sake, Sir, let us come down with white roses in our hats! A day more propitious for a bill of this complexion could not have been fixed on. On the report of the bill, I shall propose a clause for rendering it temporary, and if the noble lord will suffer it to pass, he never had at his levee a more humble suppliant for a boon for himself, than I am for the Canadians. This bill will make the Canadians the detestation of the English colonies.

Mr. Dunning—The noble lord takes credit for his candour. His candour consists in giving five days to the consideration of this bill; but five days are very little indeed for the mischief which this bill provides. I collect the noble lord meant to tell us this—that it is his intention to refer every thing, in future, to that legislative council, to whom these Canadians are to be referred, but that it is far from his in-

tention to introduce trial by jury. Is that his candour? Is that the concession for which we are not precluded thanking him? Thank ye, for nothing, would be a true description of the thanks that are due for his concession; but unless it be the pleasure of the creatures created by this bill, to counteract the pleasure of their Creator, can it be expected this blessing will be produced? Will they counteract all the purposes of the bill—all the pleasures of those who made the bill? And is not, then, the question concluded, as far as the committee have to do with it? In point of form it will be competent for the House to reject the provision and the Bill itself containing the provision; but that this ought to be done, goes a very little way, in my opinion, to cause it to be done. My expectations are not better founded upon the future pleasure of the House, than on the future legislative council.

Colonel Barre.—This bill, Sir, originated with the House of Lords. It is Popish from the beginning to the end. The Lords are the Romish priests, who will give His Majesty absolution for breaking his promise given in the proclamation of 1763. In this bill they have done like all other priests—not considered separately the crimes with which the bill abounded, but have bundled them all up together, and, for despatch, given absolution for the whole at once. When, however, the measure came down to this House, its members, not being so Popishly inclined, wished to have some information. They asked for papers; all the papers they asked for were not granted. They asked for evidence; all the evidence was not granted. The first man who governed the colony you would not hear, though I stated the reasons why he ought to be called. The chief justice and the attorney-general of Canada were both examined; and their testimony goes in the teeth of this bill. Then it is decidedly opposite to the opinion of two of the most respectable men in the kingdom. When the noble lord was asked for the papers containing these opinions he refused to give

them, alleging that the reports are very long; but the attorney and solicitor-general are both in the House, and I wish to hear the abstract of their opinions given by themselves. This they could have done, but the House would not let them. The advocate-general was called to the bar upon which they said, we meant to create delay. The witness is so singular a man, that I cannot persuade myself to be out of temper with him. He was mounted very high, and pranced and pranced, and never moved from the place. I noticed a few expressions not becoming him as a witness at the bar, but altogether singular from a man who tells you he had no memory to relate anything he had written, and is at the same time known to be of so singular a memory that, without the help of notes, he can sum up the largest train of evidence, not thinking it worth while to take it down upon paper. Some time ago we were given to understand, that we were not to expect a general election. The report now runs, that parliament is immediately to be dissolved; and, in truth sir, after the passing of this bill, the sooner it is dissolved the better. In its infancy it was a very compliant one, and humoured the ministry in what I called a strong measure. I mean the Middlesex election. It continued to do so up to the middle of its existence; and, upon its dissolution, people may say, as they did after death of King Charles, that by some papers found after its decease, there is great reason to suspect that it died in the profession of the Roman Catholic religion.

Mr. Edmund Burke.—There is one favour I admit to have received from the noble lord. He has assured me, that I may propose those clauses of which I have spoken, but that when they are proposed he will certainly reject them. I think the noble lord does deserve my warmest acknowledgments. That is a kind of favour which is paid immediately on the receipt. Most assuredly I will never propose them.

Mr. Jenkinson—The honourable colonel tells us that this parliament is a Roman Catholic parliament, and very near

its end. I have always understood, that when a Catholic is dying, he is generally attended by a number of troublesome people, disposed to put many troublesome questions to him. Now, I hope that Catholic practice will not be followed in our case, but that he will, at least, allow us to die in peace.

Governor Johnstone.—I should not object to the clause, if the bill was a temporary one. The English colonies have flourished more than others; they have found out the secret of carrying freedom to the distant parts of the empire. I hope gentlemen will not come to the conclusion, because certain assemblies in America have recently been tumultuous on a nice point, that therefore all assemblies are to be discountenanced. I see throughout the whole, that the interest of the governor, and the interest of the receiver-general, are the predominant features of the bill; together with surrounding our own colonies with a line of despotism. As an Irishman said to me, in that nice metaphorical language that belongs to his country, you are coming round and round, till, like water flowing in upon an island, encroaching upon it more and more, you will not leave a foot of ground for the fowl of the air to rest upon. I fear you will not leave a foot for liberty to rest upon.

Lord North.—In the first place, Sir, I cannot admit, that the evidence taken at our bar has been in opposition to the principle of the bill; on the contrary, I think it confirms the most material parts of it. With regard to the particular clause before us, what have the witnesses at the bar said? The governor certainly is evidence against an assembly; the chief justice certainly is evidence against an assembly; Mr. Maseres is for an assembly. But, in point of fact, what came out in evidence. That there were in the province at present one hundred and fifty thousand Roman Catholic subjects, and about three hundred and sixty Protestant families, whose numbers we will suppose to be a thousand or twelve hundred persons; but very few of them are possessed of any property at all. The fair inference,

therefore, is, that the assembly would be composed of Roman Catholics. Now, I ask, is it safe for this country—for we must consider this country—to put the principal power into the hands of an assembly of Roman Catholic new subjects? I agree with the honourable gentleman, that the Roman Catholics may be honest, able, worthy, sensible men, entertaining very correct notions of political liberty; but I must say there is something in that religion, which makes it not prudent in a Protestant government, to establish an assembly consisting entirely of Roman Catholics. The honourable gentleman is of opinion, that more is to be dreaded from the seigneurs than from those in the lower ranks. Sure I am, that the seigneurs, who are the great possessors of the lands, would be the persons who composed the assembly, and some of them will, I hope, be admitted to the Legislative Council; but then, the governor will choose those on whose fidelity he has the greatest reason to rely. They will be removeable by the King-in-Council, and will not depend wholly upon the Roman Catholic electors, or be removeable at their pleasure. It is not at present expedient to call an assembly. That is what the act says; though it would be convenient that the Canadian laws should be assimilated to those of this country, as far as the laws of Great Britain admit, and that British subjects should have something or other in their constitution preserved for them, which they will probably lose when they cease to be governed entirely by British laws. That it is desirable to give the Canadians a constitution in every respect like the constitution of Great Britain, I will not say; but I earnestly hope, that they will, in the course of time, enjoy as much of our laws, and as much of our constitution, as may be beneficial for that country, and safe for this. But that time is not yet come.

The clause was agreed to. After which the preamble of the bill was read.

Mr. William Burke—I do not remember that I ever saw

the House of Commons in so sick a situation as it is at present. (Cry of "Order! order!!") I say, Sir, that the parliament of Great Britain is in an unfortunate situation. This is the worst bill that ever engaged the attention of a British council. It is a bill to establish the Popish religion —to establish despotism There have been instances in human affairs in which, for purposes of commerce, we have established freedom, as far as we could, in a certain locality, but to establish Popery, to establish despotism, in a conquered province, is what we have never done before. I am aware I cannot count forty upon you; (there were forty-five members at this time in the House) but I will say, that this business has been brought forward very late in the session; when men of great rank and property in this country must be tired. There is Mr. Soame Jenyns. He is a lord of trade, and possess a great deal of wit, and a great deal of information. I wish to hear him speak upon the subject. I also expect to hear the attorney and the solicitor-general, who have hitherto been very sparing of their law. They heard the witnesses at the bar, but did not dare to say they were wrong, and they saw the majority voting plump in the teeth of their own evidence. I say it is quite disgraceful to them, not to tell the House, whether the king is or is not bound by this bill to apply a portion of the revenue arising from tithes, to the establishment of a Protestant clergy in the province. I say, that by this bill he is not bound, but may apply those revenues to any purposes, however extravagant or profligate—either to raise an army, or to bribe, or anything in the world that he pleases. I will say this to that majority to whom I am to submit, and to that public who may hear the little which I have to say, that never since God made the world or parliaments existed, was there a time when the conduct that is now carried on was justifiable. The gentlemen who oppose the bill, knowing it was impossible to defeat it, have almost worked themselves to death, to make it as far as they could, consonant to English

liberty, and the principles of the English constitution. do not know what they meant by opposing the amendment of my honourable kinsman, for placing the debateable tithe under the control of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. I vow to God, that I believe the noble lord did not know his own situation; that he did not know there was such a thing in the country as that society. I don't believe the law officers knew a bit about it. But whether he knew there was or was not such a society (I don't know which, nor much care), I say, nothing but ignorance can justify the refusal of that motion of my honourable kinsman. There will come an hour, when it will be necessary, when it will be proper, when it will be just, to testify that there was some opposition made, some protest entered against mad proceedings.

The preamble being agreed to, the House resumed.

Mr. Sergeant Glynn.—In the concluding proposition of the noble lord, I perfectly agree, namely, that as the House is now considering the plan of laws and judicature to be given to the people of Canada, the one that is best calculated to promote the permanent happiness of the people who are to be governed by it is the preferable plan, and the one which it is the duty of the King to give them. Having thus far agreed with the noble lord, he must pardon me when I declare, from the bottom of my heart, that I think the only certain step we can take to secure for them that permanent happiness, is to bestow upon them that system of laws and judicature, which have been productive of so much happiness to ourselves at home, and obtained for us so much honour abroad. I would give it to them subject to such restrictions and regulations as the particular tenures by which their property is held might require. Give them, if you please, their particular usages and customs, but let the leading principle be that of the laws of England.

I am one of those, Sir, who are glad that the clause has been proposed; and though, to be candid, I cannot say that

the adoption of it would remove my objections to this bill, yet I am certain it has a tendency to reconcile the minds of some gentlemen to the measure, and to remove some of the most striking and formidable objections to it. The omission of this right of appeal to a jury in civil causes appears to me an insuperable objection to the bill. To any predilection of the Canadians for their ancient laws and customs, I should be inclined as much as any one to yield, as far as I could do so with safety; but to carry my compliance to the exclusion of the laws of England—to consent to substitute in their place the laws of France—and to add to all this a form of legislature correspondent to that of the kingdom whence those laws were borrowed, is what I can never consent to. And I own my objection to the measure was strengthened when I was told, that there was a prejudice and predilection in these people favourable to those laws, and that it was considered good policy to avail ourselves of this predilection, to build a system of government upon it so contrary to our own. I should have thought it was rather our duty, by all gentle means, to root those prejudices from the minds of the Canadians, to attach them by degrees to the civil government of England, and to rivet the union by the strong ties of laws, language and religion. You have followed the opposite principle; which, instead of making it a secure possession to this country, will cause it to remain forever a dangerous one. I have contemplated with some horror the nursery thus established for men reared up in irreconcileable aversion to our laws and constitution. When I was told by the noble lord, that they were insensible to the value of those laws and held them in contempt, wishing to be bound by laws of their own making—when I was told that they had no regard for civil rights, I must confess that it operated with me in a contrary way, and I could not help thinking that it furnished an unanswerable argument against gratifying them. I think that we could not, with humanity or policy, gratify them

in their love of French law, of French religion. The common safety is concerned in our refusal.

The noble lord has put it, that we are now giving laws to a great number of new inhabitants, and to a small body of our old subjects, and that it is our duty to give them such a form of government as shall best promote their happiness, but what I contend for is, that the bill upon our table, instead of providing that best form of government, puts them in the worst possible condition, as it takes from them a blessing which they now enjoy, and the greatest which it is in the power of any legislature to bestow. Instead of being tried by juries selected from among themselves, and by judges sworn to administer justice according to the laws of the country, you substitute a trial before an individual appointed at the will of the governor, probably uneducated in those laws, and, if educated, brought up to entertain violent notions of law and justice. Such are the men by whom you would have justice decided! And all this is done because it is right to indulge the natural predilection of the Canadians in favor of their ancient laws and usages! Let me, Sir, in like manner, plead the law in favor of the English merchants—in favor of the English inhabitants. If it be cruel, if it be oppressive, to obtrude upon the Canadians this law, which they have been eleven years in exercise of, what should be said of those who take away the law from the poor English subjects who reside there? These men have a predilection and liking for the laws of their own country, and claim their privilege of being protected, according to the usage and just principles of policy of their ancestors. They have settled there in consequence of the royal faith pledged to them, that they should not be deprived of the law which they esteem so valuable, and that none of their privileges should be infringed. Is it justice to these men to force them to live under an arbitrary form of government, and to submit to the administration of justice by the principles of another law, to the exclusion of

juries, for the gratification of others, who prefer being placed under a despotic form of government? Is not the gratification due to the natives of England rather than to the natives of Canada?

Mr. Sergeant Glynn.—There is, Sir, another consideration which I will submit to the House. Every man born in Canada since the conquest must be a free-born subject. In process of time, all will be of that description, and as such, entitled to partake of all the rights and privileges of that system of government which we are about to transmit to them. Is it then wise, I ask, out of compassion to the prejudices of those who have been born under the arbitrary law of another country, to perpetuate a system of government, which will deprive all those who may hereafter be born, from the enjoyment of the privileges of other British subjects? I will give the House no further trouble. I see that the attempt to resist the passing of this mischievous bill will be in vain; but I earnestly hope, that it will be rendered less mischievous, by the admission of the clause proposed by the honourable gentleman near me.

Edmund Burke.—Now, instead of making them free subjects of England, you sentence them to French government for ages. I meant only to offer a few words upon the part of the Canadians, and leave them to their misery. They are condemned slaves by the British parliament. You only give them new masters. There is an end of Canada.

Sir, having given up a hundred and fifty thousand of these people, having deprived them of the principles of our constitution, let us turn our attention to three hundred and sixty English families. It is a small number; but I have heard, that the English are not to be judged of by number but by weight; and that one Englishman can beat two Frenchmen. Let us not value that prejudice. I do not know that one Englishman can beat two Frenchmen; but I know that, in this case, he ought to be more valuable than twenty Frenchmen, if you estimate him as a freeman and

the Frenchmen as slaves. What can compensate an Englishman for the loss of his laws? Do you propose to take away liberty from the Englishman, because you will not give it to the French? I would give it to the Englishman, though ten thousand Frenchmen should take it against their will. Two-thirds of the whole trading interest of Canada are going to be deprived of their liberties, and handed over to French law and French judicature. Is that just to Englishmen? Surely, the English merchants want the protection of our law more than the noblesse! They have property always at sea; which,if it is not protected by law, every one may catch who can. No English merchant thinks himself armed to protect his property, if he is not armed with English law. I claim protection for the three hundred and sixty English families whom I do know, against the prejudices of the noblesse of Canada, whom I do not know. I must put the House in mind of what an honourable gentleman said in the course of this debate—that it was seldom that any improvement was introduced into any country, which did not, at first, militate against the prejudices of the people. Was all England pleased with the revolution? No. The wishes of the majority were sacrificed to the reason of the better part, and the interest of the whole; and we are now enjoying the benefits of that choice—benefits brought upon the ignorant people, not by force, but with an easy hand. The Canadians are struggling with their old prejudices in favour of their former laws. A new establishment is proposed to them, which throws them into some disorder, some confusion. "All the interim is like a phantasma and a hideous dream." The honourable gentlemen opposite, taking advantage of this confusion, say: We have got a basis; let us see how much French law we can introduce! With a French basis, there is not one good thing that you can introduce. With an English basis, there is not one bad thing that you can introduce. Take the rule of the law of Canada for the rule of the constitution of your

courts, and it will be the rule of all your proceedings; take it for the rule of your judicature, and sooner or later, it will be the rule of your legislature. How often have we had occasion in this House to quote the practice of the courts below! how many lights have we derived from the learned gentlemen pleading there! how many lights have we derived, from you, Sir! how many from the judicature of the upper House! Where there is a basis of French judicature, of French law, the legislature will never think of grafting upon it an English constitution.

With regard to state policy, which is the last point I shall touch upon—the preservation of their old prejudices, their old laws, their old customs, by the bill, turns the balance in favour of France. The only difference is, they will have George the Third for Lewis the Sixteenth. In order to make Canada a secure possession of the British Government, you have only to bind the people to you, by giving them your laws. Give them English liberty—give them an English constitution—and then whether they speak French or English, whether they go to mass or attend our own communion, you will render them valuable and useful subjects of Great Britain. If you refuse to do this, the consequence will be most injurious, Canada will become a dangerous instrument in the hands of those who wish to destroy English liberty in every part of our possession.

The question being then put that the said clause be read a second time, the House divided:

TELLERS.

Yeas.	Mr. Mackworth..... Mr. Thomas Townsend, Jr.....	40
Nays	Mr. Bradshaw..... Mr. Robinson	83

So it passed in the negative.

Mr. Howard—I have considered it well, and I cannot separate my idea of it from that of a money bill; in which character, it is a violation of your privileges, which is confirmed by long usages and customs. It is, moreover, a bill which goes to introduce tyranny and arbitrary power into the colonies, to give a further establishment to popery, to annul the bill of toleration, and to destroy the act of habeas corpus. For these reasons, I have opposed it, and I venture to oppose it again. In short, I look upon it as a most abominable and detestable measure, which ought to be rejected. With respect to the other reason given by the honourable gentleman, that it is a money bill, I think no treatment too contemptuous can be applied to it. On that, and that account alone, you, Sir, should throw it over the table, and somebody else should kick it out at the door.

The question being put, that the bill, with the amendments, do pass, the House divided:

TELLERS.

Yeas.	Mr. Bradshaw Mr. Cooper	56
Nays.	Mr. Howard Mr. Dempster	20

So it was resolved in the affirmative. The bill was then passed. It received the royal assent on the 22nd, when the Parliament was prorogued, and shortly after dissolved

[*Extract from Petition of French Residents.*]

Nous esperons d'autant mieux cette grace que nous possédons plus de dix douzièmes des seigneuries et presque toutes les terres en rotures.

Fr. Simonnet,	Hertel Beaubassin,	J. Sanguinet,
Longueuil,	La Corne, fils,	John Vienne,
De Rouville, fils,	St. Ours,	Le Palliau,
St. Disier,	Landriéve,	Gordien de Cuisy, fils,
La Perier,	De Rouville,	Picoté de Belestre,
Chevalier de St. Ours,	l'eschaillon,	
St. Ours, fils,	J. La Croix,	Pierre Foretier,
Carilly,	Giasson,	L. Defoui,
Lemoine,	Vallés,	La Combe,
Guy,	P. Pillett,	Ch. Sanguinet,
Contre-coeur,	Laurent Du Charme,	S. Chaboille,
Des Riviéres,	Berthelot,	J. G. Bourassa,
Montigny, fils,	Mézière,	P. Panet,
L. Porlier,	St. Ange,	J. B. Blondeau,
J. G. Hubert,	La Corne,	Le Grand,
Fr. Cariau,	Quinson de St. Ours,	L. Baby,
Landriaux,	Pouvret,	Hamelin, fils,
J. G. Pillet,	St. George du Pré,	Foucher,
Fr. La Combe,	Louvigny deMontigny	Lamber St. Omer,
Jobert,	Sanguinet,	De Bonne,
M. Blondeau,	Jean Crittal,	Gamelin.
Eauge,	Pierre Panet, fils,	
J. Daillebout de Cuisy	Pillet.	

[*Copy of a Letter of the Period.*]

MONTREAL, Dec'r 1765.

DEAR ALSOPP,

The Joyfull news of a recall of the G——— being come here confirm'd through so many channells, there now cannot be the least doubt.———our worthy Agients advice ought to be wrought on our minds viz: not to exult too much, this I understand, to be while in suspe:.ce I mean the stroke of the recall, but after that is sure we certainly sho'd not conseal by our faces the real sentiments of our

hearts rejoiced and thankful that our Soverign has at last heard the complaints of an oppressed people.—

I observe from your accounts as well as from others, our agient wishes for and wants matter, why sh'd it be wanting—let us now joyne hearts and hands to furnish him with what we abound in here, begin with what you think, proper, we will Joyne you to a man I mean when it comes properly prepar'd & propos'd from you, you can always depend on any little influence I have, let it then begin with, or come first to your other friends with whom you have a great deal to say and who tho' we differ in some triffling affairs yet abhore equally Tyrany and Opression.

I say let it begin with them and I will Joyne, we now ought to redouble our strokes and activity to Insure what seems to be in so good a way! Dont you think it might be urg'd with great propriety the situation we are in here with our Court of C——n P——s, can a man not only a Stranger to our Constitution, but to our Language be a proper Judge, a man bred up in France tho' he assumes the name of a native of Great Brittain be a Judge to Englishmen, a man who even serv'd the French King, consequently must have taken oaths to him——think of a Subject doing this, a man who is asteem'd & thought at present, by many to be a Roman Catholick, who really was once of the order of J——s, and who has been seen and known as such and wearing their habbitts or dress at Douey in France, but we suppose discharg'd for want of capacity—— a man who in fact begun every disturbance, in this unhappy country, and in whom the G———r places his greatest confidence and adds Power to Power, to make Cyphers of our Magistrates (were they weak enough to submit) and to command the Country, but men of such education, with such principles are the proper instruments and Tools for Tyrants.

I hope Dear Alsopp you'l excuse my warmth on this point, but is occurs to me now, and I see dayly the inconveniences from Cap—— F. being a Judge —— would it

not be better to have an honest Englishman if we co'd not obtain one bred to the Law for one of our Judges, but this I submit to you.——has our friends at Quebec forgot the iligall Rum Tax ? our pocketts keep us in mind, here, have you forgott the attempt to Tax—— The arbritary appropriating to his own Private ends the Kings Posts, the Influence he has over an ill chosen Councill who I am sorry to say attempts too much to be our Legislature and forgets by their ordinances that they are subject to the Law of England. What ever faults they may have I am sure they have not heads nor hearts to amend, have we not just cause to complain against that Toole of his and Sycophant the Col——r muster up all you can, be asured his fall is certain, and we can make him fall with more rapidity.

I sh'd be glad you wo'd send me an account of our adventure. I hope we shall gain by that trade. I had a girl born last Friday week. My wife and the little one are likely to do well. I am very sorry for Death of Mrs. Gridly, my wife is daily asking after her, but does not know that she is dead.

If you can change my Butter for Dry Goods, do it as I have more here of the same. I cannot give you more Information in regard to your Port Wine, then I am sure that Mr. Finlay had the odd one.

My Ribb Joynes in complem's with

Sr. Yr. Most obed't &
Very hble servt,

JOSEPH HOWARD.

P.S.—Pray let us have none of your Insignificant nodds, as you live so near Justice Fielden, he'l certainly take notice of you.

To
MR. GEO. ALSOPP,
Merch't in
Quebec.

THE EARLY INTERPRETERS.

By Mr. John Reade, F.R.S.C.

(Concluded.)

After these desultory rambles through time and space in the old world, let us now turn our minds westward in the track of the early discoverers, explorers and colonizers of the new. The earliest intercourse that Columbus had with the American aborigines was conducted by means of signs, and the consequence was that not infrequently he misconstrued the directions or explanations given to him. When he asked the natives of San Salvador where they got their gold, he was led to understand that a king, somewhere in the south, had it in such abundance that he drank out of golden vessels. He imagined that they referred to Japan. On finally leaving the island he took seven natives with him, that they might acquire the Spanish language and serve as interpreters. Thus was laid the foundation of a usage which was followed by all subsequent voyagers, and which tended more than anything else to create and preserve a bond of sympathy between the races of the two hemispheres.

Occasionally the process was reversed, and as captives or volunteers, Europeans lived long enough among the aborigines to understand their language. Drake seems to have got on remarkably well with the natives of his New Albion without any other language than that of signs. Notwithstanding its clear promise of the precious metals—as he has himself recorded—no use was made of the discovery for 300 years after, when his visit was vaguely cited in favor of England's right to the mouth of the Columbia. As a sample of the sort of conversation that took place between the new-comers and the natives it may be mentioned that when Raleigh asked an aboriginal Virginian (pardon the anachronism) the name of his country, he replied, "Win-gau-da-coa," which, as it turned out, was a

wholly independent observation, and meant, "You wear fine clothes." The presence of natives with auburn hair revealed to Raleigh the fact that his were not the first European vessels that had visited the coast, but the half-breeds had never learned or had forgotten the paternal tongue. Provision was made for intercommunication in the future by the abstraction of two natives, Manteo and Manchese. Thomas Savage, who later on rendered important service to the colonists as interpreter, was for several years of his boyhood a prisoner with Powhattan. A captive who had passed through a more trying ordeal was Aguilar, who was the first regular interpreter of Cortes. He had been one of the Darien colony, but had been wrecked, near the coast of Yucatan, on a voyage to Hispaniola. He escaped drowning and the still worse fate of being eaten by his fellow-men, fell into the hands of a powerful chief, with whom he found favor, and gradually rose to a post of influence among the Indians. He had, in fact, become an Indian himself in dress, manner and speech, and it was some time before he could be reconciled to the restraints of civilization.

The most interesting figure among the early American interpreters is Marina, a native of South-eastern Mexico, and the daughter of a powerful native prince. Being sold to the Cacique of Tabasco, that potentate surrendered her to the Spaniards. She is said to have possessed personal attractions beyond the common and to have been a woman of unusual intelligence. Cortes made her first his interpreter, then his secretary, and lastly fell in love with her. The Spanish poets have celebrated her charms and accomplishments.

In the conquest of Peru, by Pizarro and his comrades, intercourse was maintained with the natives by two captive youths, who had been taught Castilian and carefully trained in their duties as interpreters. Coming northwards, we find the experience of the Spaniards repeated in New England and New France. In the former the first person who gave

serious attention to the native languages was John Eliot, who, in his missionary zeal, could allow himself no rest till he had translated the whole of King James' Bible into the language of the Massachusetts tribes, which he had learned from an Indian servant. His Indian version of the Scriptures was the first Bible printed in America. It is now very rare. A copy was sold a few years ago for $1,130. The tongue in which it was written has become virtually a dead language, except that it is allied with the other branches of the great Algonquin family. One word from it—taken from Eliot's version of Genesis—has, however, been resuscitated for political purposes—the word *mugwump* —meaning "big chief," "leader," "commander." It is used by Eliot both in the singular and the plural where the version of King James uses the word "duke" or "dukes"—the sons of Eliphaz, the son of Esau, being described as Mugwumps Teman, Omar, Zepho and Kenaz. Mugwump, it will be remembered, was first applied (by the N.Y. *Sun*) to those Republicans who sided with Cleveland against Blaine, the party nominee, on the ground that the former would promote civil service reform.

If no Canadian missionary turned the Vulgate into Algonquin or Iroquois, it certainly was not from any lack of zeal for the salvation of souls. As the late regretted M. Maximilian Bibaud says in his "Sagamos Illustres," so eager were they to save the savage tribes from their idolatry and degradation that one might fancy a return to the days when Boniface and Siegfried brought the boon of the Gospel to the heathen races of Europe. The same patriotic writer finds in Jacques Cartier the true creator of intercourse between North America and Europe.* The names of the Indians who, however partially and imperfectly, acted as interpreters to the captain of St. Malo were Taiguragny and Domagaya. Cartier has left vocabularies of the Stadacona and Hochelaga tribes, which Abbé Cuoq, after careful collation with the later Iroquois, has concluded to belong to a dialect of that language.

M. B. Sulte, in a paper read before the Royal Society, in May, 1882, collected a mass of useful information regarding the interpreters of the time of Champlain. The most remarkable of them were Jacques Hertel (Sieur de la Frenière), François Marguerie, Jean, Jean-Paul and Thomas Godefroy, Olivier Le Tartif, Jean Nicolet and Nicolas Marsolet. Every one of these men had a career of adventure, full of the spirit of romance. Some of them were men of family; nearly all were scholars. Marguerie, when in captivity, traced on skin, with colored grease, a narrative of his misfortunes and need of help, in Latin, French, English, Dutch and Indian. His sister married Jacques Hertel, who has left a multitude of descendants. Besides the aforementioned, there were, in Champlain's time, several others who acted as interpreters, such as Etienne Brulé, who with Thomas (possibly Godefroy) accompanied Champlain to the Huron County in 1615, and who ultimately fell a victim to the cruel vindictiveness of savage foes and was burned at the stake. He is believed to have been the French boy left by Champlain with his Algonquin and Huron allies in 1610, when he took one of their number, Savignon, with him to France. Nicolas de Vignau and Gros Jean, of Dieppe—of whom the former deceived Champlain as to the North-west passage, and the latter attached himself to the English and served under Kirke—may be added to the number.*

Down to 1628 there were altogether more than a dozen interpreters in the vicinity of the Lakes. The missionaries were, of course, practically interpreters—the first essential to success in their labors being a knowledge of the language of the aborigines.

To trace the zig-zag wanderings of the interpreters who succeeded would be to narrate the history of the continent—its trade, its wars, its diplomacy, its missions. Wherever the Europeans went in pursuit of land, or gold, or power,

* A young Greek, who was in Quebec with the founder of that city just before its capture by Kirk, merits a place in the list. *Voyages de Champlain*, p. 1154.

the interpreter was sure to make his appearance. Sometimes they were Europeans, sometimes Indians, sometimes half-breeds. They were of all grades of society, from the lowest to the highest—bushrangers, men of science, artists, warriors, preachers of the Gospel. Some served occasionally, as circumstances demanded; other were regularly employed and paid by the authorities; others freely devoted their hardly gained knowledge of the Indian tongues to the cause of evangelization, of science or of trade.

THE OLD WATER COURSES.

In the January, 1890, number of *Canadiana* reference is made to the lake on the Lachine flats and the canal system supposed to have existed between Lachine and Montreal. The researches of Mr. Robert C. Douglas, as stated in the March, 1890, number of this publication, showed that this proposed canal system had not been fully completed. These local questions have an interest for archæologists, and as each one contributes his mite, the pieces are collected until, like a ripped manuscript gathered out of the waste paper basket, the facts which the original contained are brought out, although one portion might have led to a doubtful conclusion. If we speculate it is with the hope that we may at last arrive at the truth.

Looking at Champlain's map of the Island of Montreal, which is to be found in his narrative, it will be noticed that a large portion of the flats below the Lachine Rapids, near Cote St. Paul, were covered with water. Admitting that this visit was a hurried one, covering but a day, and that the incident of the loss of a canoe and one of his men may have disturbed the explorer, still anything stated by Champlain deserves careful attention as being *prima facie* correct. Were the date of his visit when the river was dammed by the ice, it might have been supposed that these flats were

thus covered with water; the date was 11th June, 1611, therefore this supposition must be set aside.

Was a considerable portion of this flat covered with water at the time? In support of the probability it may be said (1) that Champlain was a reliable witness and an intelligent one; (2) that the maps of N. Bellin, 1744, show a lake in this neighborhood stretching from near Lachine village to Cote St. Paul; (3) that this lake was known even to old men now living; (4) that the low lie of the land and its present swampy state are evidences of its being near the present water level.

If Champlain's map was correct, then the present St. Paul flat has been reclaimed from the water since.

The changes in the St. Pierre River, which was somewhat modified by the drainage system, and in part adopted for the drainage of Lachine, shows the continued tendency to make dry land of what was water in Champlain's time.

It is well known that to traverse this swamp the original Montreal & Lachine Railway was piled, and the piles are still there.

Upon the subject of our watercourses, it may interest some persons to look at the old maps of the city of Montreal, and there note the rivulet where Craig street now is. Some fifty years since this creek divided the roadway for its whole length from St. Antoine street to St. Denis street. Bridges were necessary to cross this creek at St. Antoine, Bleury, St. Lawrence and other streets. Afterwards, this creek was tunnelled and a broad roadway formed as now exists. This rivulet or creek was the outlet for the several brooks of the west and east ends of the city. On the west the brooks, being the overflow of certain springs now covered up, may be noted. 1st. One on the Desrivières (now Redpath) property. 2nd One on Judge Smith's property south of Sherbrooke street, near the corner of Peel street. 3rd. One at the gate on University street of the McGill College ground (the McGill-Burnside property)—

all of which brooks had cut gullys (traces of which may still be seen at the corner of Sherbrooke and University streets) and found their way in an united brook on a line between the present Aylmer street and Union avenue. A second brook from the uplands came down parallel with St. Lawrence street, a little to the east of this street, into Craig street, and two streams came across the Ordnance lands, now the Park or the Logan estate, into Craig street rivulet, whilst the whole thus found its way into the main rivulet on the present Craig street. It dragged its slow length along, joined by rivulets from the Beaver Meadows, and emptied at Handyside's distillery, as Ruisseau Migeon, into the St. Lawrence.

Another creek or rivulet on the Island of Montreal on the city side to be noted is the St. Pierre, finding its way by two branches to the St. Lawrence, one emptying opposite Nuns' Island, and the other crossing St. Joseph street (now Notre Dame street west) near Dow's brewery, thence through the old Montreal College grounds, thence across McGill street, where there was a bridge, thence along Commissioners street, to empty into the St. Lawrence at Pointe à Callières.

When the city of Montreal was incorporated in 1840, or shortly thereafter, the Craig street creek was tunnelled, and the water west of St. Lawrence street was turned westward (contrary to its natural course), and a cut made to connect it with the St. Pierre.

A reference to the old maps and to the present officials may verify or correct these rough notes thus thrown together to meet the request of some enquiries made of an old inhabitant of Montreal.

When the authoress of "The Backwoods of Canada" arrived in Montreal in August, 1832, she wrote:—

"We were struck by the dirty, narrow, ill-paved or unpaved streets of the suburbs, and overpowered by the

noisome vapor arising from a deep fosse that ran along the street behind the wharf.

"This ditch seemed the receptacle of every abomination, and sufficient in itself to infect a whole town with malignant fever." D. D.

I am indebted to the officials in the City Surveyor's Department for the following information:—

The only portion of the old "creek" remaining uncovered in 1845 was in the neighborhood of Chaboillez Square, from Dow's brewery to St. Antoine street, the remaining portion in Foundling and Craig streets being covered.

The original creek had an outfall opposite the present Custom House, from where it passed westward along Foundling and College streets to Chaboillez Square, where it was joined by the St. Pierre rivulet, that passed under the Lachine Canal; from the junction of Chaboillez and College streets it passed northward across Chaboillez Square, where it was joined by the rivulet from the west, that is now drained by Bonaventure main sewer. From the junction of Notre Dame street (then St. Joseph) and Chaboillez Square it passed eastward along Craig street, passed St. Lawrence, St. Denis and Papineau road at Dorchester street, where it branched northwards into several small tributaries.

ED.

REMINISCENCES OF COL. CLAUS.

By Mr. Ernest Cruikshank.

VI.

In anticipation of the return of the Indians from the Lake of Two Mountains to their homes, it would appear that an attempt had been made to draw a reinforcement from those with Proctor's army. On the 12th August a meeting of the Indians was held at the cross roads to receive the report of the embassy sent to Detroit for this purpose. There were present representing the Indian department, besides Col.

Claus, Major Givins, Capt. De Lorimier, Lieuts. De Lorimier, Brant and Lyons.

"*Tekanhoga* spoke on seven strings black and six strings black and white, wampum from the Shawnees.

"Brothers—On the road to the Grand River I heard of the death of Lieut.-Col. Bisshop and of the conduct of our brothers at Buffalo. They have forgot their promise and raised the tomahawk against the King to spill the blood of his children. Their words to us were:—'If the Americans take from us our property and stop our money, yet we are determined not to raise the tomahawk against the King.' They have done it, and I have informed the Western Indians what has been done, and shall report their answer.

"Elder Brothers—We look towards you, and see that you feel yourselves in distress. Our people are going to the Miami, and as soon as that business is over, which we expect will be very soon, expect to see us with you, and we will cross the river and face those people on their own side. You are to tell our brother at the head of affairs not to think it hard if cattle are killed on the way down.'

"This is the answer I received. When my messenger came away, an Indian with one arm had just arrived from Miami. He left it nine days ago. He says Kiga-haga was taken, with 1,000 barrels; 4,000 Indians were going to storm Fort Meigs, but they were ordered not to attempt it, but to go to cut off 300 men in charge of goods, etc., and that 2,000 went."

Writing to Col. Harvey the same day, Claus said:—"Teharihoga, a Mohawk chief, who arrived to-day from the Grand River, desired to meet me in council, and repeated the answer he received from the Shawanese to a message he sent them informing them of the conduct of the Indians at Buffalo Creek. I enclose a copy of their answer. The Caughnawagas have asked for a feast to-day. They say they have not had one since they came up."

The enemy began to show signs of activity, and even

ventured to attack the British outposts. On the 13th August Claus wrote to Harvey:—"Our piquets retired this morning. The one in front of Ball's was fired upon by twenty rifles at upwards of 100 yards. They must have been in the bush all night. Some shots were exchanged, but the distance was too great to do any hurt. The one by Secord's did not perceive anything."

The following extract from a letter dated at Fort George on the 15th August, which appeared in the *Buffalo Gazette* a few days later, probably explains the cause of this unusual demonstration. The writer says:—"Our picket guards during the week have been almost constantly in alarm. On the night of the 13th an attack was made by a pretty formidable force, but flying artillery was sent out, and they dispersed. The attacks have been principally made by Indians The British are supposed to number 2,000 regulars, 500 or 600 militia and 300 or 400 Indians. There is no doubt they are short of provisions."

The first dispersal of the Indians to their homes could not be much longer delayed. On the 15th Claus addressed the following to Harvey announcing this fact:—

Cross Roads, Aug. 15th, 1813.

Dear Sir,—I am sorry to inform you that seven of the Chippawas have left, and the Western Indians, after some persuasion, have agreed to stay till the end of this quarter of the moon. A few nights ago they spoke of going, but it appears they only did it for an excuse for asking for some liquor. This morning they appear determined to go at the time they mentioned. A requisition is making out for some clothing, on application of Blackbird. I assure you I dread the orders of the 7th inst."

The letter-book ends abruptly with the following interesting fragment of a letter, probably from Col. Matthew Elliott, although the signature is wanting, which throws some new light on Proctor's last offensive movement:—

Detroit, Aug. 8th, 1813.

My Dear Claus.—I beg to acknowledge receipt of yours

of the 18th, enclosing extracts of General Order. We are preparing a new set of abstracts for the February two-monthly period, to replace those taken by the enemy.

I now proceed to give you a short detail of our unfortunate expedition to Fort Meigs and Sandusky. We set off from Amherstburg with 300 troops and between 3,000 and 4,000 Indians, in high expectation of doing something great. On our landing at the rapids, our General's first camp was about two miles from the fort, but two days after he moved to within about a mile and a half, where he remained seven days. During these nine days the Indians wanted him to throw some shells into the fort and make use of his great guns and attempt to sap the fort, telling him at the same time that although they were starving they would second him in everything he would undertake. He, however, proposed going up to Sandusky, which the Indians opposed with all their might, saying that if he went there, they would return to their families and stand between them and danger, should the Americans sally out of the fort. He still continuing determined on his purpose, the Indians set off homewards, all but 200 of our Indians and some of Mr. Dickson's.

He then fell into a rage with me, and said that I had been guilty of treachery, for which he would report me to the Commander of the Forces, and I should be personally responsible for the failure of the expedition.

We set off accordingly to Sandusky, and in . . . . .

INDIAN ALLEGIANCE IN 1839.

[A curious parchment, of which the following is a copy, was recently shewn to me by a well-known antiquarian in this city.—Ed.]

Nous, Chefs des différents Tributs Sauvages du District de Montréal, dans la Province du Bas Canada, Promettons et Jurons que nous serons fidel et que nous garderons vraiment comme bon sujêts, notre allegiance à Sa Majesté Bri-

tannique La Reine Victoria Première; et que nous les défendrons du mieux qu'il nous sera possible, contre toutes conspirations et toutes tentatives quelleconques qui pourront etre faits contre Sa Personne, Sa Couronne, ou Sa Dignité; et nous ferrons touts nos efforts, ainsi de communiquer et faire à scavoir à Sa Majesté, Ses Hoirs et Ses Successeurs toutes trahissons et tout correspondences traitresses qui pourroient avoir lieu, soit contre elle, soit contre eux, ou Sa Gouvernement dans cette Province du Bas Canada. Et nous professons et certifions et déclarons solemnellement en Presence de Dieu, que nous faisons cette Déclaration tout entière, dans le sens commun et ordinaire des expressions de se serment, sans aucune evasion equivoque, ni reservation mentale quelleconque; ainsi que Dieu nous soit eu aide:

Grand Chefs.

Martin X Tekanasontie,
Thomas X Teâtekon,
Thomas X Sakoetchta,
Charles X Katchirakiron,
Joseph X Niwateurah,
Joseph X Tenihatie,
Ignace X Kauarataheri,

Sworn before me Sault St. Louis, this 7th Oct., 1838.
DOND. DUFF, J. P.

Ignace X Ataherhei,
Ignace X Kanniwatiron,
Louis X Twiraquisain,

Sworn before me Sault St. Louis. this 7th Oct., 1838.
DOND. DUFF, J.P.

Augustin X Guille,
Louis X Degouzagne,

Grand Chefs.

Mitchel X Tekareontie,
George X Teoseragwenti,
Charles X Oriwakati
Peter X Kanniarakwa,

Sub-Chefs.

Lewis X Tarakonente,
Jacob X Taharatie,
Peter X Owenhienne,
Peter X Osetakate,
William X Tehawentate,

Sworn before me at Saint Regis this 15th January, 1839.
T. Y. CHESLEY, J. P.

Simon X Vbomsawine,
Louis X Watzeau,

Franc's X or sulle Vbomsawine.

Sworn before me this 5th day of February, 1839.
W. COTTRELL, J. P.

PUBLIC LIBRARY, TORONTO,
December 6th, 1890.

The spirited and patriotic lines entitled "The United Provinces," reprinted in your last number from the "Monthly Review," 1840, may safely be attributed to J. H. Hagarty, Esq., a gentleman who contributed largely to the periodical literature of fifty years ago, and who now bears the honoured title Chief Justice of Ontario. J. B.

This number, which completes the second volume of CANADIANA, is the last, as it has been decided not to continue the publication.

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